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LIFE AND STRUGGLES OF WILLIAM LOVETT

VOL. II

"Onward! while a wrong remains
To be conquered by the right;
While oppression lifts a finger
To affront us by his might;
While an error clouds the reason
Of the universal heart,
Or a Slave awaits his freedom,
Action is the wise man's part"—

CHARLES MACKAY.

LIFE AND STRUGGLES OF WILLIAM LOVETT IN HIS PURSUIT OF BREAD KNOWLEDGE, AND FREEDOM

WITH SOME SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT ASSOCIATIONS HE BELONGED TO AND OF THE OPINIONS HE ENTERTAINED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

R. H. TAWNEY, B.A.

FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

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LIFE AND STRUGGLES OF WILLIAM LOVETT

CHAPTER XIII

On our release from prison, which took place on July 25, 1840, we were welcomed by a large number of people in the town of Warwick; delegates also having been sent from many towns to greet our entrance into Birmingham, the people of that town also having made arrangements for a public procession and a festival on the occasion. My health, however, was in that state that I was obliged to decline this generous invitation, as well as a number of others I had received from different parts of the country, and to set off into Cornwall as soon as possible, to try as a restorative the air of my native place. The members of our Working Men's Associations, the Combination Committee, and Cabinet Makers, having conjointly made arrangements for giving a public dinner to Mr. Collins and myself, I did manage to attend that before I set off. The dinner took place at White Conduit House, in a large tent, on August the 3rd, when upwards of 1000 persons sat down to dinner. Mr. Wakley, the member for Finsbury, took the chair: Mr. Duncombe, the other member, and a great number of friends attended; and Mr. Richard Moore officiated as secretary. There was also a ball in the evening. I must also gratefully acknowledge the further kindness of my friends, composing the Working Men's Associations, the Combination Committee, the Cabinet Makers, and other kind friends who exerted themselves in various ways to procure subscriptions for the

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support of my wife and daughter, while I was in prison. They had also been so far successful among my friends in different parts of the country that, in addition to their support, they had raised sufficient to pay my expenses down into Cornwall, as well as a few pounds for helping me into a small way of business when I returned. Before, however, I went down to Cornwall, Mr. Collins and myself made arrangements for the printing and publishing of *Chartism*, the little work already referred to. The first edition of it sold off during my stay in Cornwall; and it having been very favourably reviewed by the Press, we were induced, in consequence, to *stereotype* the second edition; but this not selling (in consequence of the clamour subsequently raised against us by the O'Connorites) caused us to lose by the transaction.

I may state, also, that I was no sooner out of prison than I had a variety of claims made upon me on account of the *Charter Newspaper*. This was a paper devoted to the interests of the working classes, and originated in a proposal made to our Combination Committee by Mr. William Carpenter, its first editor. It was conducted for some time by a committee chosen by the subscribers, and the paper and printing found by a printer and paper merchant, in consideration of the number of persons who had agreed to purchase it. It was carried on, I think, for nearly twelve months, but the speculation not answering the expectation of the printer, he gave up the printing of it, and the committee consequently dissolved. Myself and another, however, had allowed our names to be entered *as sureties at the Stamp Office*, and we had not formally withdrawn them when I was sent to prison. The publisher, however—very unjustly to us—thought fit to carry on the paper on his own account; and our names standing at the Stamp Office, rendered us liable for a great variety of debts he incurred on it. The other surety not being so well known to the creditors as myself, when I came out of prison I was dunned in all directions for these debts; and claims for a considerable amount were sent down to Cornwall after me. As may be supposed, this was to me a

source of great trouble and difficulty, but eventually some of the creditors were induced to relinquish their claims, some of the debts my friends subscribed together and paid, and others I paid myself, or compounded for, as I best could.

As regards my journey, I may state that the bracing effects of my voyage down, the kindness of friends and the salubrious air of Cornwall, in a few months greatly served to renovate my shattered constitution; although I may now conclude that I shall never fully recover from the debilitating effects produced on my health by my treatment in Warwick Gaol.

Having been depicted by the opponents of Chartism in the blackest colours, I was regarded as something monstrous by many, and I must mention a little anecdote in proof of it. Riding on the top of an omnibus towards my brother's house, I got into conversation with a gentleman beside me on the subject of mineralogy, he having some specimens with him. I said I wanted a few of a peculiar kind, but I did not know where to meet with them, when he told me he thought he could supply me if I called on him. I thanked him, and said I would do so. A little time before I got down I gave him my address in exchange for his own; but when he saw my name, he said "What! William Lovett, the Chartist?" "Yes," I replied, "the same individual." "Why," said he, scrutinizing me very earnestly, "*you don't look like one*"; evidently believing that a Chartist was something monstrous. "Well," I said, "as you gave me an invitation to call on you without knowing me, now you do know that I am a Chartist, your invitation had best be cancelled." "Not so," he replied good-humouredly; "we met on scientific grounds, and I do not trouble myself about politics, and if you call I shall be glad to see you." I did so in a short time, when he showed me his collection, and I purchased a few specimens of him. He proved to be a Superintendent of the Wesleyan Ministers of that district, and, I doubt not, a very estimable man, for all his notions about Chartists.

Not possessing strength to work at the cabinet business, I was induced, on my return to town, to open a small book-

seller's shop in Tottenham Court Road, conceiving that to be a business by which I might earn my bread, and which my wife could manage, and by which I might have some time to devote to politics; but here I was again doomed to disappointment. But although I had not much business in my shop, I was kept busily engaged otherwise; for I was very soon elected a vestryman of St. Pancras, and soon after one of the guardians of the poor. Soon after I opened my shop, I also received a letter from Mr. Samuel Smiles, the author of the *Life of Stephenson*, and other admirable works, offering me the situation of sub-editor to the *Leeds Times*, he being then the editor of that paper. Not liking, however, to leave London, and thinking that I might be able to earn a livelihood by my bookselling business, I respectfully declined his kind offer. Not many months after I had opened my shop I received also a requisition, signed by a number of persons, requesting me to take some active steps for the formation of an association *upon the plan set forth in our little work* entitled *Chartism*. I accordingly drew up the following address, and Messrs. Collins, Hetherington, Cleave, Rogers, Mitchell and others having appended their signatures to it, copies of it were forwarded to leading Radicals in different parts of the country, inviting their signatures previous to its general publication—the same means, in fact, which we formally adopted with our Irish address:—

"To the Political and Social Reformers of the United Kingdom,—Brethren, in addressing you as fellow-labourers in the great cause of human liberty, we would wish to rivet this important truth on your mind:—*You must become your own social and political regenerators, or you will never enjoy freedom.* For true liberty cannot be conferred by acts of parliament or decrees of princes, but must spring up from the knowledge, morality, and public virtue of our population. Be assured, fellow-countrymen, that those who have hitherto been permitted to rule the destinies of nations, who in their madness or folly have cursed the land with wars, cruelty, oppression, and crime,

will ever maintain their power and ascendancy while they have ignorant and demoralized slaves to approve of and execute their mandates. Though revolution were to follow revolution, and changes were to be continually effected in our constitution, laws, and government, unless the social and political superstructure were based upon the *intelligence* and *morality* of the people, they would only have exchanged despotism for despotism, and one set of oppressors for another.

"If, therefore, you would escape your present social and political bondage, and benefit your race, you must bestir yourselves, and make every sacrifice *to build up the sacred temple of your own liberties*, or by your neglect and apathy bequeath to your offspring *an increase* of degradation and wrong. You cannot suppose that those who revel in the spoils of labour, and live by the wretchedness they have created, will be instrumental in promoting the political and social improvement of the people. They may talk of liberty while they are forging your fetters; may profess sympathy while they are adding insult to wrong; and may talk of instructing you while they are devising the most efficient means of moulding you into passive slaves; but they will contemptuously spurn every proposal for establishing *equality of political rights and social obligations*—the enduring basis of liberty, prosperity, and happiness.

"Let every man among you, then, who is desirous of seeing the bounties of heaven made subservient to human enjoyment, who is desirous of seeing our land blessed with peace and human brotherhood, and the intellectual and moral capabilities man is endowed with springing forth in all their usefulness and excellence, anxiously enquire how he can best aid the holy cause of man's social regeneration and political freedom.

"Tracing most of our social grievances to class legislation, we have proposed a political reform upon the principles of the People's Charter; we have made it the polar-star of our agitation, and have resolved by all *just* and *peaceful* means to cause it to become the law of our country. Believing it to have *truth* for its basis, and the

happiness of all for its end, we conceive that it needs not the violence of passion, the bitterness of party spirit, nor the arms of aggressive warfare for its support; its principles need only to be unfolded to be appreciated, and being appreciated by the majority, will be established in peace.

"But while we would implore you to direct your undivided attention to the attainment of that just political measure, we would urge you to make your agitation in favour of it more efficient and productive of *social benefit* than it has been hitherto. We have wasted glorious means of usefulness in foolish displays and gaudy trappings, seeking to captivate the sense rather than inform the mind, and aping the proceedings of a tinselled and corrupt aristocracy, rather than aspiring to the mental and moral dignity of a pure democracy.

"Our public meetings have on too many occasions been arenas of passionate invective, party spirit, and personal idolatry, rather than public assemblies for calmly deliberating and freely discussing national or local grievances; or as schools for the advancement of our glorious cause, by the dissemination of facts and inculcation of principles; as it is by such teachings that our population will be prepared *to use wisely* the political power they are now seeking to obtain.

"We are, therefore, desirous of seeing these means applied to a higher and nobler purpose, that of developing the mental and moral energies of our population, *to the great end of their political freedom and social happiness*. For as no earthly power *can prevent an intelligent people from obtaining their rights*, nor all the appliances of corruption *permanently enslave them*, we are anxious, above all things, in seeing them instructed in their political rights and social duties.

"Although the attainment of political power is essential to enable them to improve to any extent their physical condition, yet we believe that a vast increase of social enjoyment might be effected (despite a corrupt and degrading government), if sobriety and moral culture were more generally diffused. And, therefore, we are desirous of seeing our political teachers disseminating unpalatable

truths against drunkenness and immorality of every description, and, by precept and example, endeavouring to rescue our brethren from *the thraldom of their own vices*, and from *servilely imitating the corruptions and vices of those above them.*

"As also the children of to-day will, in a few years, be called upon to exercise the rights and duties of men, it becomes our paramount duty to qualify them for their future station, and not permit them to be moulded to the several purposes of priestcraft, sectarianism, and charity-mongers; but *to devise, maintain, and execute a wise and just system of education*, calculated to develop all the powers and energies God has given them, to the end that they may enjoy their own existence, and extend the greatest amount of happiness to all mankind.

"With no disposition to oppose the associations already formed, but with an anxious desire to see all those interested in the social and political improvement of their fellow men, united in one general body to effect it, we propose that such an association be established, and that the following be its objects:—

"National Association of the United Kingdom, *for Promoting the Political and Social Improvement of the People.*

"1. To establish in one general body persons of all creeds, classes, and opinions, who are desirous to promote the political and social improvement of the people.

"2. To create and extend an enlightened public opinion in favour of the *People's Charter*, and by every just and peaceful means secure its enactment; so that the industrious classes may be placed in possession of the franchise, the most important step of all political and social reformation.

"3. To appoint as many *missionaries* as may be deemed necessary to visit the different districts of the kingdom, for the purpose of explaining the views of the association, for promoting its efficient organization, for lecturing on its different objects, and otherwise seeing that the intentions of the general body are carried into effect in the several localities, according to the instructions they may receive from the general Board.

"4. To establish *circulating libraries*, from a hundred to two hundred volumes each, containing the most useful works on politics, morals, the sciences, history, and such instructing and entertaining works as may be generally approved of. Such libraries to vary as much as possible from each other, and be sent *in rotation* from one town or village in the district to another, and to be lent freely to the members.

"5. To print from time to time such *tracts* and *pamphlets* as the Association may consider necessary for promoting its objects; and, when its organization is complete, to publish a monthly or quarterly national periodical.

"6. To erect *Public Halls* or *Schools for the People* throughout the kingdom, upon the most approved principles and in such districts as may be necessary. Such halls to be used during the day as *infant, preparatory*, and *high schools*, in which the children shall be educated on the most approved plans the Association can devise, embracing physical, mental, moral, and political instruction; and used of an evening by adults for *public lectures* on physical, moral, and political science; for *readings, discussions, musical entertainments, dancing* and such other healthful and rational recreations as may serve to instruct and cheer the industrious classes after their hours of toil, and prevent the formation of vicious and intoxicating habits. Such halls to have two commodious play-grounds, and where practicable, a pleasure-garden attached to each; apartments for the teachers, rooms for hot and cold baths, for a small museum, a laboratory and general workshop where the members and their children may be taught experiments in science, as well as the first principles of the most useful trades.

"To establish in such towns or districts as may be found necessary *normal* or *teachers' schools* for the purpose of instructing schoolmasters and mistresses in the most approved systems of physical, mental, moral, and political training.

"8. To establish on the most approved system such *agricultural* and *industrial schools* as may be required for the education and support of the *orphan children of the*

Association, and for instructing them in some useful trade or occupation.

"9. To offer premiums, whenever it may be considered advisable, for the best essays on the instruction of children and adults, for the best description of school books, or for any other object promotive of the social and political welfare of the people.

"10. To devise from time to time the best means by which the members, in their several localities, may collect subscriptions and donations in aid of the above objects,* may manage the superintendence of the halls and schools of their respective districts, may have due control over all the affairs of the Association, and share in its advantages, without incurring personal risk or violating the laws of the country.

"Submitting those objects for your serious consideration, and resolving to make every possible effort to establish such an association, we remain your devoted servants in the cause of human liberty and social happiness," etc. etc.

This address was no sooner issued than it was denounced by O'Connor and the writers in his paper, the *Northern Star*, as a "new move," concocted by Hume, Roebuck and O'Connell for destroying his power, and for subverting his plan—that of the "National Charter Association," and

* If the number of persons who signed the National Petition belonged to such an association by paying a less sum even than *a penny per week each person*, they would be able to effect the following important objects *every year* :—

	£
To erect *eighty* district halls, or normal or industrial schools, at £3000 each	240,000
To establish *seven hundred and ten* circulating libraries at £20 each	14,200
To employ *four missionaries* (travelling expenses included) at £200 per annum	800
To circulate *twenty thousand tracts per week, at* 15*s.* per thousand	780
To printing, postages, salaries, etc.	700
	£256,480
Leaving for incidental expenses	120
	£256,600

his land scheme. All who appended their names to it were condemned as "traitors, humbugs, and miscreants," and myself in particular came in for a double portion of abuse. A number of those who, approving of the plan, had appended their signatures to it, bowed and cringed most basely under this storm of vituperation; and the only reward they got from the *Star* for withdrawing their names from our address was to obtain the designation of "rats escaping from the trap." Votes of censure and denunciations innumerable assailed us from every corner of the kingdom where O'Connor's tools and dupes were found, but fortunately for me and my friends they had not power in proportion to their vindictiveness, or our lives would have been sacrificed to their frenzy. Among the most prominent of our assailants in London was a Mr. J. Watkins, a person of some talent, and, I believe, of some property, who preached and published *a sermon* to show the justice of assassinating us. An extract from this very popular discourse (for it was preached many times in different parts of London) will serve to convey its spirit:—"The interest of Chartism demands that we be firm friends, and as firm foes. No truckling, no time-serving, no temporising, no surrender to the enemy, no quarter to traitors. Despots show no quarter to traitors, except quartering their limbs. What was the sentence on poor Frost?—to be hanged by the neck; but to be cut down while yet alive, his bowels to be torn out before his own eyes, and his limbs to be severed from his breathless, bleeding trunk. If Frost was a traitor to government, he was true to us, and if such was to be his fate, shall traitors to the people—the worst of traitors—be tenderly dealt with—nay, courted, caressed? No, let them be denounced and renounced; let us prevent their future treasons, and make examples of them to deter future traitors. Washington hanged Major Andre in spite of his most urgent intercessions—hanged him for being a spy—and who will say that Washington's example should not be followed? We are in a warfare, and must have martial law—*short shrift, and sharp cord.*"

All kinds of ridiculous charges were made against us in

the *Star*, and every species of insult and abuse poured forth against every person who presumed to defend us, but seldom an argument in our favour was admitted into the columns of that paper. Although those poor frenzied dupes who had been blindly intoxicated with the falsehoods of O'Connor were for the most part too cowardly to have recourse to personal violence, they exercised their powers in various ways to injure all those who were favourable to the "new move," as they designated our plan. Many were the persons whose business they ruined by their persecution, and many were those who left their country in consequence; and as far as they could injure my own business they did so. My respected friend, Mr. Neesom, who at one time was a zealous, physical-force O'Connorite, but who had seen cause to change his opinions, and to append his signature to our address, was one who was persecuted by them most relentlessly. Living at Spitalfields, in the midst of the most virulent of them, and his newspaper business and his wife's school greatly dependent on them, these were speedily shut up, his life often threatened, and he and his wife, in their old age, obliged to seek elsewhere for a livelihood. Regarding the "National Charter Association" referred to, I may observe that on my return from Cornwall I received an invitation to join it, but refused, on the grounds of its illegality, at the same time referring them to an Act of Parliament, in which it was shown that all who belonged to them incurred the risk of transportation. Mr. Collins also about the same time called the attention of the editor of the *Northern Star* to the same subject; and the editor, writing to Mr. F. Place for his opinion, was shown by him also the illegality of this association.

To return to the address referred to, which had excited all this hostility, I must state that eighty-six persons having appended their signatures to it, in testimony of their approval, induced us to take further steps for the promotion of our object. With this view we issued the following address to the Political and Social Reformers of the United Kingdom :—

"Fellow-Countrymen.—In addressing you on subjects connected with your political rights and social duties, we are no ways anxious to proclaim our actions or our sacrifices in the cause of the people; we merely demand that justice for ourselves which we have suffered in seeking to establish it for others—*the justice of being heard patiently, and judged impartially.*

"Having been mainly instrumental in embodying in the *People's Charter* those political principles which, for a great number of years, were cherished by all true reformers, but which previously divided and distracted them by being separately contended for; and many of us having also suffered persecution and imprisonment in defence of its principles; we thought ourselves entitled, *in common with others*, to put forth our views and opinions respecting the best means of causing that measure to become the law of the land.

"Conceiving that the past conduct of a number of those who professed to subscribe to the just principles of the Charter was wanting in that integrity, honesty, and justice, which are necessary qualifications to secure the co-operation of the wise, and the confidence of the good; and believing that the falsehood, exaggeration, and violence of those who were active to scheme, but too cowardly to act, had led to the sacrifice and incarceration of hundreds of victims, by which means our cause had been retarded and defamed, we felt anxious *to redeem by reason what had been lost by madness and folly.*

"We accordingly, about five months ago, put forth a proposal for forming a National Association, as set forth in a pamphlet, written in Warwick Gaol, entitled *Chartism*—a plan embracing such objects as, in our opinion, were best calculated to unite the elements of Chartism, and secure the co-operation of benevolent minds who were desirous of benefiting the great mass of the people politically and socially.

"In publishing that plan, we explicitly stated that *we had no wish to interfere with the societies then in existence;* our object being to form a general association for certain

explicit purposes. These purposes being, first and foremost, to create and extend an *enlightened public opinion* in favour of the People's Charter, among persons of all creeds, classes, and opinions, by the means of missionaries, lecturers, circulating libraries, tracts, etc. And in order to secure proper places of meeting for those purposes, we proposed a systematic and practical plan for the erecting of *Public Halls for the People* in every district of the kingdom; by which means our working-class brethren might be taken out of the contaminating influences of public-houses and beer-shops—places where many of their meetings are still held, in which their passions are inflamed, their reason drowned, their families pauperized, and themselves degraded and politically enslaved.

"Seeing, also, that vast numbers of our infant population are the neglected victims of ignorance and vice, creating on the one hand the evils we are seeking to remove, on the other—seeing that the selfish, the bigoted, and the fanatic, are intent on moulding to their several purposes the infant mind of our country; and that the different parties in the state have for several years past been devising such national schemes of instruction as shall cause our population to become the blind devotees and tools of despotism—we urged on our brethren the necessity of remedying and averting those evils, by adopting a *wise and General System of Education* in connection with these Public Halls; such a system of instruction as shall develop in the rising generation all the faculties which God has given them, to the end that they might enjoy their own existence, and extend the greatest amount of happiness to others.

"In proposing this plan, we impressed on our brethren the necessity of devoting to those ennobling purposes those means which had previously been wasted in frivolous efforts and childlike displays. We urged them with all the earnestness which the importance of the subject merits, that all who would place freedom on an enduring basis, to adopt such a course of agitation in favour of our Charter as should unite in one bond of brotherhood the wise and benevolent of all classes, who would be intent on cherishing

and propagating the noblest principles of freedom among young and old, so that the most substantial fruits might be gathered from that political power we are now seeking to obtain.

"This proposal, while it was warmly greeted by the Press, and received the commendations of a great number of intelligent minds among all parties, was met with falsehood, intolerance and bitterest rancour, by the most prominent organ of Chartism, *The Northern Star*. Its proprietor and editor jointly denounced it as a production of Messrs. O'Connell, Hume and Roebuck! as a plan intended to destroy Fergus O'Connor's political supremacy and subvert one which he had previously concocted. *Education* was ridiculed, *Knowledge* was sneered at, *Facts* were perverted, *Truth* suppressed, and the lowest passions and prejudices of the multitude were appealed to, to obtain a clamorous verdict against us. We were denounced by them and their hired partisans, as 'thieves, liars and traitors to the cause of Chartism,' as persons who 'if a guillotine existed in England would be its just victims.' Nay, a *sermon!* has been preached by one of those professors of freedom to show the necessity for *privately assassinating us*.

"As far as we have been able to obtain insertion for a vindication of our conduct, through the channel by which we have been calumniated, we have called, but called in vain, for *proofs* of their base assertions. As far as they have dared reply to us, they have proclaimed themselves false, intolerant and reckless in the eyes of every reflecting man; and when the eyes of their dupes shall have been opened, they will be ashamed of the virulence they have displayed against men whose only crime has been the publication of *a rational plan* for the attainment of the People's Charter.

"Strong in rectitude of our principles, and more than ever convinced of the necessity of that plan, we pity those who have so vindictively assailed us. Their vanity has inflamed their intellect, their prejudices have darkened their understanding, and toleration and charitable feeling

have been blotted from their minds. Believing themselves supremely wise, they spurn with Gothic ferocity all knowledge, truth, or justice; and, judging from their actions, they seem to think that liberty can only be realized by violence and proscription.

"But while these are the characteristics of the most ignorant and noisy portion of the Chartist body—persons who, without thought or judgment, are empty professors of our principles to-day, but worshippers at any other shrine to-morrow—we believe that the great bulk of our Chartist brethren is composed of men whose conviction in favour of the Charter has sprung from observation, enquiry, and patient investigation regarding the causes of political injustice and social misery. Men of this description may be deceived and misled for a season by mystification and falsehood; but their minds, bent on enquiry and ever open to conviction, will soon penetrate the flimsy veil which has been drawn over their understanding.

"To men of this character we confidently appeal; and we ask them whether the best means of obtaining the Charter, and the placing of our liberties on the securest foundation, do not form proper and legitimate questions of enquiry for every man in the United Kingdom? Or is it that the solving of these questions forms the exclusive prerogative of any particular individual or party among the people?—thus practically exemplifying in conduct the exclusive and despotic principles which they seek to overthrow, and bidding fair to render Chartism a by-word and derision.

"Holding the principles of democracy, we will yield to no man's dictation; we believe that both England and Ireland have been cursed by *man-worship*, to the sacrifice and delay of that freedom we are now contending for; and because we have dared honestly to assert our opinions, we have incurred the highest displeasure of all those whose vanity expects the homage of a crowd, peculiar patronage, and exclusive power. But warring against such selfish folly and mischievous authority, whether displayed in the courtly aristocrat or the social oppressor, we shall ever

exert our humble powers to prevent *individual or social despotism* from being introduced into that just state of things which all good men are now contending for, and which, if they be united in one bond of brotherhood, no power can much longer prevent, delay, or subvert.

" Our calumniators have falsely asserted that we are for delaying the franchise on the grounds of ignorance. So far from this being true, we have reiterated and published in various forms the contrary of this doctrine. We insist on the *universality* of the franchise on the broad principles of *personal* and *conventional rights*. *Personally*, as no man has a right to enslave or starve another man into submission to his will, which is done by arbitrary and exclusive laws. *Conventionally*, as every man living under the laws of society ought, in right and justice, to have a vote in determining what those laws should be. But while *as a right* we thus insist on our just share of political power, we are desirous of seeing the most *effective steps taken to gain it*, and of seeing our brethren *preparing themselves to use that power wisely when they shall have obtained it ;* and not to be half a century exercising the franchise, and at the end of it still find themselves the sport of cunning schemers and wily politicians.

" First, then, as regards the best means of obtaining our Charter.—We are of those who are opposed to everything in the shape of a physical or violent revolution, believing that a victory would be a defeat to the just principles of democracy ; as the military chieftains would become—as all past history affirms *—the political despots ; and as such a sanguinary warfare, calling up the passions in the worst forms, must necessarily throw back for centuries our intellectual and moral progress. Believing that the attainment of the Charter would be an instrument of benefit to all—the only means through which the corruptions, monopolies, and evils of our Government can be removed, and that those who are interested in their continuance are few compared with the population—we think that all that is necessary for the carrying of that measure is,

* With the exception, I believe, of Washington.

soberly and rationally, to convince all classes of our population how far it is *their interest to unite with us*, in order that we may peaceably obtain it; for a combined people have always numerous means for the attainment of their object without violence.

"But it is not the *mere possession of the franchise* that is to benefit our country; that is only *the means to a just end*—the election of the best and wisest of men to solve a question which has never yet been propounded in any legislative body—namely, *how shall all the resources of our country be made to advance the intellectual and social happiness of every individual?* It is not merely *the removing of evils*, but *the establishing of remedies* that can benefit the millions; and in order to check the natural selfishness and ambition of rulers, and induce them to enact just and salutary laws, *those who possess the power to elect must have knowledge, judgment, and moral principle to direct them*, before anything worthy of the name of just government or true liberty can be established.

"Of what benefit would be the franchise, or what description of Government would be established by those, who, too ignorant to investigate, not only clamorously oppose, but if they had power, would even sacrifice all who differ from them? Happily, however, for the progress of humanity, those neglected and maddened unfortunates are few compared with the vast numbers of our countrymen, whose sound sense and generous feeling prompt them to investigation, improvement, and peace.

"But, notwithstanding this feeling prevails at present, the political and social condition of our country is such as to demand the consideration and combined energies of all who are anxious for peace, prosperity, and intellectual and moral progress. Taking into account the vast extent of social misery, which class legislation has mainly occasioned—viewing the contentions of factions for supremacy, and their desire to perpetuate the corruptions and monopolies by which they exist—seeing the deeply-seated wrongs and extended poverty which prevail, and which, if not speedily removed or mitigated, may madden our population into a

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state of anarchy and direst confusion—a consideration of this state of things should call forth the benevolent feelings of reflecting men among all classes, and should prompt them to be united, in order to investigate and remedy our political and social evils, and to place the liberties of our country upon a sound and lasting foundation.

"Having thus stated the intolerant conduct pursued against us, and briefly expressed our reasons for our opinions, we call upon men of sense and reflection to decide between us, at the same time inviting all who think with us to join the National Association."

Shortly after the publication of this address (in October, 1841), a number of persons residing in London, approving of the objects of the National Association, resolved to form themselves into a distinct and separate body for the purpose of individually and collectively promoting them in their locality, and for carrying out such portions of them as their funds would enable them to do. This body was designated "The London Members of the National Association." * It held its first meeting at the Globe Coffee House, Shoe Lane. Its first secretary was Mr. Henry Hetherington, and on his resignation, Mr. Charles Westerton, a

* The persons who took, more or less, an active part in the Nationa Association were the following:—Henry Hetherington, Wm. Lovett, John Cleave, Henry Vincent, Henry Mitchell, James Watson, John Collins, Richard Moore, James Hoppy, Charles H. Neesom, James Savage, H. B. Marley, Joseph Turner, Arthur Dyson, Stephen Wade, R. W. Woodward, George Bennett, Isaac F. Mollett, Charles Tapperell, C. H. Simmons, A. Morton, John Alexander, Charles Westerton, W. J. Linton, Benjamin Huggett, C. H. Elt, H. Beal, J. Peat, J. Newton, J. H. Parry, Wm. Statham, John Statham, Wm. Saunders, Thomas Wilson, J. Kesson, James Stansfeld, Sidney M. Hawkes, Wm. Shaen, Henry Moore, John King, Wm. Addiscott, R. McKenzie, George Cox, Abram Hooper, Richard Spur, G. Outtram, Thomas Scott, J. Jenkinson, Thomas Lovick, W. H. Prideaux, Henry Mills, John Mottram, James Lawrence, John Lawrence, Capt. Walhouse, John Bainbridge, Wm. Dell, John Parker, Henry Campkin, Thomas Donatty, J. J. West, J. Dobson Collett, T. Beggs, J. Corfield, F. Rickards, Charles M. Schomberge, W. H. Ashurst, H. Taylor, J. Beasley, A. Davenport, Wm. Hyde, Wm. Crate, J. Tijoue, etc.

gentleman who subsequently, as churchwarden at Knightsbridge, rendered great service to the Liberal cause by his opposition to *Puseyism*.

About one of the first efforts of this Association was the establishment of a cheap weekly periodical, entitled *The National Association Gazette*. It was edited by my eloquent and much-esteemed friend Mr. J. H. Parry (now Mr. Serjeant Parry), a gentleman whose acquaintance (originating with the starting of that little publication) I warmly cherish, and whose many acts of friendship and generosity towards me I shall ever have cause to remember. This gazette was continued for many months, and by its able management did our cause great service; but from its being an unstamped publication, and in consequence not able to embrace the news of the week, it never had a large circulation.

The repeated interruptions of public meetings, by the violent portion of the Chartist body, having excited strong prejudices in the minds of the *Middle Classes* against our principles, led us to put forth the following address to them :—

"Fellow-Countrymen.—The political partisans of our respective classes have in too many instances succeeded in awakening our mutual prejudices; and selfishness and distrust on the one hand, and violence and folly on the other, have ripened animosities and fostered the spirit of exclusiveness, to the dissevering of those links which ought to be united for our common weal; while a selfish, corrupt, and oppressive few have flourished and triumphed by reason of such prejudices and dissentions.

"Seeing the result of those evils in the social degradation, the commercial ruin, and political oppression of our country, we are anxious to see a mantle of oblivion cast over past differences, and to see the wise and good of all classes resolving, *that in future they will labour and reason together to work out the social and political regeneration of man.*

"Amid the multiplicity of opinions entertained by a large portion of our class regarding the causes of com-

mercial depression and social misery, we are desirous of laying before you the views entertained by a numerous body of our working-class brethren, in order that you may be induced, if possible, to examine their merits without prejudice, and reasonably discuss their efficacy to promote the great end which, we trust, we are all aiming at—namely, the peace, prosperity, and happiness of our native land.

"In tracing our monopolies, the trading and commercial restrictions of which we complain, we find them originating in the selfishness and party power of legislators. When we ask the origin of those burthens which paralyse our domestic energies, and prevent us from coping with other nations, we find that they have sprung from the cupidity, the fears, and selfishness of law-makers. When we investigate the origin of pauperism, ignorance, misery, and crime, we may easily trace the black catalogue to exclusive legislation, and the restrictive and intolerant laws which have been enacted to block up every avenue to knowledge, by which means the mass of society have been left to grope in ignorance and superstition; and, goaded by the poverty corrupt legislation has occasioned, they have been rendered still more desperate by the sanguinary and cruel laws which class legislators have made to hedge about their individual interests.

"Satisfied, therefore, that most of those evils can be traced to unjust and selfish legislation, we have pushed our enquiries still further, and we find their chief source *in our present exclusive system of representation.* The franchise being confined to a small portion of our population, and that portion controlled and prejudiced to an incalculable extent by the wealthy few, the legislators and governors of our country have not been a representation of the minds and wants of the nation, but of the political party through whose influence they owe their power. Thus it is that restrictive laws are maintained, that selfish measures have originated, and class interests are supported, at the expense of national prosperity and individual happiness.

"To remedy a state of things thus prejudicial to your

interests and ours, the class to which we belong have embodied in a document, called "The People's Charter," such principles and means of just and equal representation as we believe will best secure the object we are aiming at—*just and honest legislation.*

"To a calm consideration of that measure of justice, and to the creating and extending an enlightened public opinion in its favour, we would especially direct your attention, so that by a cordial union of the Middle and Working Classes the *originating cause* of all the evils of which both parties complain may be speedily removed. We would implore you, fellow-countrymen, to think deeply and seriously of the multitude of human beings, destined for high and noble purposes, who are, year after year, sacrificed by class legislation, while professing reformers are busily occupied with *the effects* of political and social wrongs, and leaving *the originating cause* in all its contaminating rottenness.

"We are the more induced to call upon you at this time to examine the merits of the Charter, as we understand that some philanthropic individuals* among you, dissatisfied with our present representative system, are about to propose to you some modification of the suffrage short of that which we believe *essential for just government*—such indeed, as is embodied in the People's Charter. If it can be shown that the principles of that document are *unjust*, we shall be found as ready to abandon as we are now resolved to maintain them. If it is not so universal in its character as to place *woman* upon the same footing of political equality with *man*, propose it to us as the terms of your union, and we engage that most of our brethren throughout the kingdom will readily declare their adherence. If its details are defective, show us in what respect they can be amended, so as to better carry out its principles, and our brethren will not be slow to adopt improvements.

"But a determination, deep, resolute, and extensive, has gone forth; and persecution and suffering have only served to strengthen conviction and rivet our adherence that we will no longer waste our energies in combating

* The Complete Suffrage Party.

with *mere legislative effects*, while *the cause of such effects* remains to generate more evils. It was a conviction of the folly of such conduct, rendered still more evident after the passing of the Reform Bill, that led us to embody in our document what we believe *essential to just legislation*, believing that though our efforts to secure it might be difficult and prolonged, yet the attainment of it forms the only hope of our political and social salvation.

"Many of you who agree with our principles may probably tell us that the intolerant and mischievous conduct of a large portion of the Chartist body, has engendered timid fears and hostile prejudices, which it is necessary to conciliate by standing apart from the name and principles of the Charter. Shall just principles be set aside because bad men have espoused them or foolish ones diverted them to an unwise purpose? If the principles of Christianity itself had been tried by the conduct of its professors, where would be the records of its moral sway, and its triumphs over the barbarism of man?

"Come with us, then, and declare at once for the Charter! Do not, we pray you, seek to get up what will be considered a *counter agitation*, generating distrust where we believe benefit is intended, but which will only serve to keep those asunder whose union is essential to secure the benefits our starving brethren need, whose disunion is the life-giving principle of our aristocratical oppressors, but destruction and death to the principles of true democracy.

"Say that you disapprove of the folly, the violence, and intolerance of hundreds of professing Chartists, and thousands will honestly respond to such a declaration! Say that you condemn the insane threats which have been ignorantly hurled against those rights and interests which experience has proved necessary for the security of our social fabric, and the well-disposed of all classes will unite with you to form a wall of adamant to protect all just laws and good institutions.

"Say, then, that you will make common cause with us upon the broad principles of right and justice contained in our Charter, and the kind and generous feelings which

distinguish our countrymen will respond with gratitude. The anger which pinching poverty has excited would then give place to hope, and intelligence, being made the basis of our agitation, would brighten as it extends ; we should then become efficient to promote all good, and powerful to guard it.

"Trusting that you will respond to the wishes of your suffering countrymen, we remain, your fellow-citizens," etc. etc.

CHAPTER XIV

THE second National Petition, which was put forth by the National Charter Association in 1842, having given great offence to a considerable number of the Scotch Chartists, on account of the question of the *Repeal of the Union* being introduced into it, was also for the same reason rejected by the members of our Association. They therefore adopted the following *Remonstrance* to the Commons House of Parliament instead thereof :—

" The REMONSTRANCE of the undersigned inhabitants of this kingdom respectfully showeth—

" That we have just cause of complaint and remonstrance against you, who, in the name of the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, profess to represent, watch over, and legislate for our interests. That as the ancient and constitutional custom of *public petitioning* has, by your acts, been rendered a mere mockery, we are thus induced to substitute *a public remonstrance against you*, it being the legitimate means by which any portion of the people, whose political rights have one by one been legislated away by their rulers, can appeal to the public opinion of their country ; a tribunal by whose will representation is alone rendered constitutional, and for whose benefit alone government is established.

" We justly complain of your utter disregard and seeming contempt of the wants and wishes of the people, as expressed in the prayers and petitions they have been *humbly addressing to you* for a number of years past. For, while they have been complaining of the unequal, unjust, and cruel laws you have enacted—which, in their operation, have reduced millions to poverty, and punished them because they were poor—you have been either in-

creasing the catalogue, or mocking them with expensive and fruitless commissions, or telling them that 'their poverty was beyond the reach of legislative enactment.'

"While they have been complaining that you take from them three-fourths of their earnings by your complicated system of taxation, and by your monopolies force them into unequal competition with other nations, you have exhibited a contempt for their complaints in your profligate and lavish expenditure at home and abroad, and by a selfish pertinacity in favour of the monopolies you have created for your own especial interests or those of your party.

"While they have been praying that our civil list may be reduced in proportion to the exigencies of the state, and, at a time like the present, when bankruptcy, insolvency, and national destitution prevail to an extent unparalleled in history, that Her Majesty and her Consort should be made acquainted with the necessity for dispensing with useless and extravagant frivolities; yet you, in ready compliance with the wishes of the ministry, have gratified such extravagancies at the expense of want and wretchedness, when, if you had been loyal to your Queen or just to your country, you would have shown her the necessity for retrenchment in every department of her household.

"While the humane and considerate portion of the population have been demonstrating to you the evils of ignorance and the source of crime, and have been entreating you to apply to the purposes of education and social improvement, the enormous sums which you inhumanly employ in punishing the victims of your vicious institutions and culpable neglect, you have gone on recklessly despising the prayers of humanity and justice, augmenting your police, increasing your soldiers, raising prisons, and devising new means of coercion in a useless attempt to prevent crime by severity of punishment, instead of cultivating the minds, improving the hearts, and administering to the physical necessities of the people.

"While the intelligence and humanity of our country-

men have been loudly expressed against sanguinary and cruel wars, barbarous means for brutalizing the people and perpetuating bull-dog courage under the name of glory; you, who profess to watch over our interests, have, in order to gratify aristocratic cupidity, selfishness, and ambition, been supporting unjust and uncalled-for wars, by which thousands of human beings have been led on to slaughter and to death, and through which our enormous debt will be increased, and the stigma of cruelty and injustice left upon our national character.

"While our brethren have been praying for religious freedom, you have allowed a State Church to take from them upwards of nine millions per annum, independent of the evil it inflicts on them by its troublesome imposts, grasping selfishness, and anti-gospel, persecuting spirit.

"While our brethren have been contending for the free circulation of thought and opinion, through the channel of an unshackled press, as a means by which truth may be elicited and our institutions improved; you have been imposing the most arbitrary measures to check public opinion, retard freedom of enquiry, and to prevent knowledge from being cheaply diffused.

"While our social evils and anomalies have repeatedly been brought before you, you—whose duty it was to provide a remedy—have looked carelessly on, or have been intent only on your interests or your pleasures. Your own commissioners have reported to you, that thousands of infant children are doomed to slavery and ignorance in our mines and factories, while their wretched parents are wanting labour and needing bread; and that wives and mothers, to procure a miserable subsistence for their families, are compelled to neglect their offspring and their homes, and all the domestic duties which belong to their sex; that thousands of skilful mechanics are starving on a few pence, which they obtain for fourteen hours' daily toil; that vast numbers, anxious to labour, are left to linger and perish from cold and hunger; that in Ireland alone *two millions three hundred thousand are in a state of beggary and destitution;* and that misery, wretchedness, and crime, are fast

spreading their deteriorating influence, and gradually undermining the fabric of society.

"Nor is your misgovernment confined to this country alone, but its baleful influence is felt in every part of the world where British authority is known. Throughout our dominions you have permitted rights the most sacred to be invaded, in order to provide resting-places for aristocratical fledglings. You have disregarded the constitutions you have given, violated the promises you have made, and, spurning the prayers and petitions of our colonial brethren, you have trampled upon every principle of justice to establish your power and feed your ravenous lust for gain.

"You have therefore shown *by your acts* that you do not represent the wants and wishes of the people; on the contrary, self, or party considerations, are seen in almost every enactment you have made, or measure you have sanctioned. So far from representing the *commons* of this country, or legislating for them, the majority of you have neither feelings nor interests in common with them. It is seen by your proceedings, that while the supposed rights of every class and party can find advocates among you, *the right of labour is left to find 'its own level.'*

"Is the justice of titles questioned, the wisdom of ecclesiastical law doubted, or a repugnance shown by conscientious men to support the church they dissent from? *The Church* can always find zealous defenders among you. Is the expensive and unjust administration of *the law* complained of, together with all its technical and perplexing absurdities? its wisdom and propriety is at once demonstrated by your host of legal advocates. Does any one presume to question the propriety of our very expensive *military* and *naval establishments*, or to doubt the justice of flogging as a means of discipline?—he will soon find a regiment among you prepared to combat his opinions. Is the justice questioned of allowing the *landowners* to tax the people of this country to the extent of seventeen millions annually, to support their own especial monopolies —the corn laws, etc.?—eloquent advocates will at once be found among you to plead for the vested rights of property.

In short, bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and all interests and professions can find advocates and defenders in the 'Commons House,' excepting *the common people themselves.*

"That there are some well-intentioned and benevolent individuals among you, we readily admit; but far too many of those who profess liberal and just principles think more of the safety of their seats, and the prejudices of their associates, than they do of taking any active measures to carry their principles into practice. Instead of boldly proclaiming the dishonesty, hollowness, and injustice of your present legislative system, the party cry of Whig and Tory is too often the substance of their speeches—the cheat and phantom, which you all used to silence the timid and divert the ignorant.

"That you do not represent the people of this country may be further seen from the fact, that those who return you are not more than *a seventh part* of the adult male population. For by the last returns that were laid before you, while in Great Britain and Ireland there are about 5,812,276 males *above twenty years of age*, the registered electors are only 812,916; and it is practically proved, that of these electors only about nine in every twelve *actually vote;* and of these nine, many possess a plurality of votes.*

"On analysing the constituency of the United Kingdom, it is also proved that *the majority* of you are returned by 158,870 registered electors, giving *an average* constituency to each of you of only 242 electors.

"It is also proved by the returns that have been made, that 39 of you are returned by less than 300 electors each; 43 by less than 400; 20 by less than 500; 34 by less than 600; 34 by less than 700; 20 by less than 800; 18 by less than 900; and 23 by less than 1000 registered electors.

"It is also notorious that, in the Commons House, which is said to be exclusively *the People's!* there are *two hundred and five persons who are immediately or remotely related to the peers of the realm!*

* This was in 1842.

"That it contains 3 marquises, 9 earls, 23 viscounts, 27 lords, 32 right honourables, 63 honourables, 58 baronets, 10 knights, 2 admirals, 8 lord-lieutenants, 74 deputy and vice-lieutenants, 1 general, 1 lieutenant-general, 7 major-generals, 22 colonels, 32 lieutenant-colonels, 7 majors, 67 captains in army and navy, 12 lieutenants, 2 cornets, 53 magistrates, 63 placemen, and 108 patrons of church livings, having the patronage of 247 livings between them. And there are little more than 200 out of the 658 members of your house who have not either titles, office, place, pension, or church patronage.

"These facts afford abundant proofs that you neither represent the *number* nor the *interests* of the millions, but that the greatest portion of you have interests foreign, or directly opposed, to the true interests of the people of this country.

"Setting aside your party changes and rival bickerings, important only to those among you who are in possession of the public purse; with a knowledge of your past actions, and with these notorious facts before us, as plain-speaking men, claiming the freedom of speech as our birthright, we hesitate not to declare that, individually and collectively, you have all been tried by the test of *public utility*, and, with a few exceptions, have been found wanting in every requisite for representatives of an intelligent and industrious population.*

* The Representatives of the People, as described by the *Morning Post*, Jan. 18th, 1835:—

"The most confused sounds, mysteriously blended, issued from all corners of the House. . . . At repeated intervals a sort of drone-like humming, having almost the sound of a distant hand-organ, or bagpipes, issued from the back benches; coughing, sneezing, and ingeniously extended yawning, blended with other sounds, and producing a *tout ensemble* which we have never heard excelled in the House. A single voice, from the ministerial benches, imitated very accurately the yelp of a kennelled hound. . . . At one time you would have thought, from the rapidity with which they rose up and sat down again in their seats, that they had been trying some gymnastic experiments. . . . One Honourable Member imitated the crowing of a cock so admirably that you could not have distinguished it from the performance of a real chanticleer. Not far from the same

"The wide extent of misery which your legislation has occasioned, and the spread of information which your decrees could not suppress, have called up inquiring minds in every portion of the empire to investigate your actions, to question your authority, and finally, to condemn your unjust and exclusive power.

"They have demonstrated to their brethren that the only *rational use* of the institutions and laws of society is to protect, encourage, and support all that can be made to contribute *to the happiness of all the people.*

"That as the object to be attained is *mutual benefit,* so ought the enactment of laws to be *by mutual consent.*

"That obedience to the laws can only *be justly enforced* on the certainty that those who are called on to obey them have had, either personally or by their representatives, a power to enact, amend, or repeal them.

"That all who are *excluded* from this share of political power are not *justly included* within the operation of the laws. To them the laws are only *despotic enactments,* and the assembly from whom they emanate can only be considered an unholy, interested compact, devising plans and schemes for taxing and subjecting the many.

"In consonance with these opinions they have embodied in a document, called 'The People's Charter,' such just and reasonable principles of representation as, in their opinion, are calculated to secure *honest legislation* and *good government.* That document proposes to confer the franchise on every citizen of twenty-one years of age, who has resided in a district three months, who is of sane mind, and unconvicted of crime.

"It proposes to divide the United Kingdom into 300 electorial districts, containing, as nearly as may be, an equal number of inhabitants, each district to send *one* member to Parliament and no more.

spot issued sounds marvellously resembling the bleating of a sheep, blended occasionally with an admirable imitation of the braying of an ass. Then there were coughing, yawning, and other vocal performances, in infinite variety, and in most discordant chorus."

"It proposes to take the votes of the electors by ballot, in order to protect them against unjust influence.

"It proposes that Parliament be chosen annually.

"It proposes to abolish money qualifications for Members of Parliament.

"It proposes that Members of Parliament be paid for their services, and, moreover, contains the details by which all these propositions shall be carried into practice.

"This document, being so just in its demands, has already received the sanction of a vast portion of the population; and petitions in its favour have already been laid before you, containing a larger number of signatures than probably have ever been obtained in favour of any legislative enactment. And though indiscretion among some of its advocates may have retarded public opinion in its favour, we are confident that the conviction in favour of its justice and political efficacy has taken deep root in the mind of the nation, and is making rapid progress among all classes not interested in existing corruptions.

"That you may see the wisdom and propriety of timely yielding to such opinion in favour of a better representative system, and that you will speedily declare in favour of the People's Charter, or, by resigning your seats, prepare the way for those who will enact it as the law of these realms, is the ardent *prayer* of us, the undersigned inhabitants of this kingdom."

The signing of this remonstrance was delayed till towards the end of the sessions, in order that it might not interfere in any way with the signing of the National Petition. The motion, however, founded on that petition, by Mr. T. S. Duncombe, *that the petitioners be heard by counsel at the bar*, having only received the support of fifty-six Members, caused a great number of the working classes to avow a resolution that they would never again pray or petition the House of Commons in any form. Our Remonstrance was, however, signed by a considerable number of people, but, the end of the session approaching, it was deemed desirable to postpone its presentation till the next

session ; but, other matters respecting our hall interfering, the project was abandoned. Among the persons who testified their approval of this document was the late persevering and consistent Reformer, Joseph Hume, who, in a letter to the Lambeth members of our Association, thus wrote :—" The principles of reform as set forth in the Remonstrance of the National Association are such as would place the people in their proper state, to protect their property and interests against the rapacity and monopolies of the present system ; and I hope to see the Middle Classes soon join with the millions of industrious men in a constitutional agitation for their rights." I deem it but just to record this opinion of Mr. Hume in favour of what may be called extreme views of Radicalism, as O'Connor and his disciples were not sparing of their abuse of him, on account of what they called his Whig principles. That, like too many other reformers of that day, he was often led to support the Whigs for fear of the bugbear of Toryism may be admitted ; but I believe that no man was ever more persevering in seeking to carry the principles of reform into every department of the State than was Mr. Hume. And certainly, of all men, whose efforts to free the *Working Classes* from the enthrallment of the infamous *combination laws*, he is the most worthy of honour, and of their grateful remembrance.

CHAPTER XV

In January, 1842, Mr. Joseph Sturge, whose benevolent labours in the cause of humanity and freedom are so notorious, commenced his exertions in favour of what was called "*Complete Suffrage.*" His first effort was the preparing of a Memorial to the Queen, earnestly entreating her to retain in her service and take to her councils such Ministers only as would promote in Parliament that full, fair, and free representation of the people in the House of Commons to which they were entitled by the great principles of Christian equity, as well as by the British Constitution; as, according to Blackstone, "*no subject of England can be constrained to pay any aids or taxes, even for the defence of the Realm, or the support of Government, but such as are imposed by his own consent, or that of his representative in Parliament.*" *

This Memorial having been sent to our Association for signatures, it was resolved to give it all the support in our power; although, at the same time, we felt bound to express our opinion, that neither a full nor fair representation of the people could be obtained till the essentials of the People's Charter were enacted as the laws of the realm. Soon after this, being at a Public Meeting at the Crown and Anchor, on the suffrage question, I was invited, with Messrs. Hetherington, Parry, and others, to meet some of Mr. Sturge's friends in the refreshment-room, to talk over this subject. After some very excellent speeches, there given, by Mr. Miall, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Spencer and others, Mr. George Thompson, the chairman, called upon me for my opinion. I told them that my definition of Complete Suffrage was found in the People's Charter; all

* I have since heard that this Memorial was first mooted at a meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law party.

the principles of which I thought to be essential to secure the just representation of the people. I very briefly gave my reasons in proof of this, and urged on them a fair discussion of the subject. Shortly after this meeting I received a letter from Mr. Sturge, informing me that a Provisional Committee had been formed at Birmingham, and that they intended to call a Complete Suffrage Conference on the 5th of April, 1842.

This conference, composed of eighty-four persons, both of the middle and working classes—appointed for the most part by those who had signed the Memorial referred to—met at Birmingham at the time specified. Mr. J. H. Parry and myself were appointed by the members of our Association to attend it, and Mr. C. H. Neesom and Mr. Charles Westerton, two other of our members, were also delegated—the former from the district of Spitalfields, and the latter from Knightsbridge. The members of our Association, conceiving that there was little chance of a cordial union being effected between the two classes without the recognition of the Charter, on behalf of which so many sacrifices had been made by the working classes, were anxious to bring this document forward as one of the first subjects for discussion. But the Business Committee objecting to this course, the consideration of it was delayed till other matters had been discussed. These were the essential principles that were thought to be requisite for securing a full, fair, and free representation of the people; these were accordingly discussed, and after a very long and earnest debate, we were gratified in seeing most of the principles of our Charter adopted. On the third day, therefore, according to the arrangement previously agreed on, I brought forward the following motion :—

"That this Conference having adopted such just principles of representation as are necessary for giving to all classes of society their equal share of political power, and as the People's Charter contains such details as have been deemed necessary for the working out of such principles, and has, moreover, been adopted by millions of our brethren as an embodiment of their political rights, this Con-

ference, in order to effect a cordial union of the middle and working classes, resolve in *a future conference* (in which the working classes may be more fully represented) to enter into a calm consideration of that document among other plans of political reform, and, if approved of, to use every just and peaceable means for creating a public opinion in its favour." In the lengthened discussion which arose on this resolution, it appeared that considerable prejudice existed in the minds of many of the middle class members against the Charter; though the resolution did not call upon them to agree to that document, but only to take it into consideration, among other plans of reform, at a future conference. However, to conciliate this feeling against us, without any deviation of principle, we Chartists eventually modified the resolution as follows, fully believing that the majority would not be opposed to a fair discussion of the Charter at the next conference :— "That this Conference having adopted such just principles of representation as are necessary for giving to all classes their equal share of political power, resolve at some future period to call another conference, in which the whole people may be fully represented, for the purpose of considering any documents which embody the necessary details for the working out of the above principles." This having been adopted, the Conference next agreed to a plan, constitution, and rules for the formation of a new society, entitled "The National Complete Suffrage Union"; and, after some few other business resolutions, concluded its sittings, it having lasted four days.

This effort to effect a union between the two classes was to some extent successful; for a great many local Complete Suffrage Associations were formed in many towns. Great numbers of the working classes were, however, kept aloof from it, by the abuse and misrepresentations of the *Northern Star;* and others who, so far, approved of the principles of the Union, were not disposed to forego their own agitation for the Charter to join it till they had tested it by another conference. In the meantime, however, the members of the Union were not

idle; tracts were printed, lectures given, meetings held, and, to the best of my recollection, two motions introduced into the House of Commons on the subject of the Suffrage by Mr. Sharman Crawford.

In September, 1842, a special meeting of the Council of the Union was called at Birmingham to arrange, among other matters, for the calling of the next conference. Now, as O'Connor (notwithstanding his hostility to the Union) had boasted largely of his intention to get the working classes fully represented in the next conference, if he spent half he possessed;—which in reality meant that he would get it packed with his own disciples, if possible; —it became a question, with those who wanted a fair conference of the both classes chosen, how it could be best prevented. In talking the matter over with my friends, I suggested that this could be best done by one-half of the representatives being chosen by electors, and half by non-electors; and that if they interfered with each other's meetings the election should be void. This plan being approved of, I drew up the following Address and took it down to Birmingham to submit it to the Council, which, after some discussion, was adopted:—

"The Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union, to Political Reformers of all shades of opinions.

"We address you, fellow-countrymen, deeply impressed with the moral obligation of men and citizens, whose duties have been imposed on us by an authority greater than princes or rulers, commanding us to 'do unto all men as we would wish them to do unto us,' consequently requiring us to lend that aid which ourselves would desire, to extricate from their condition the millions of our brethren, who, by the oppression or neglect of rulers, are plunged in the lowest depths of misery, groping in ignorance, and daily sinking in crime.

"Though we believe that that great Christian obligation calls *upon all men* to assist in freeing their brethren from the power of the oppression, yet, at this crisis, we address ourselves especially to you, the Reformers of the United

Kingdom; because it is for you—the active and intelligent spirit of progression—you who desire to see justice established where injustice is enthroned—it is for you, in your energy and self-sacrificing resolution, to determine whether our country shall rise in freedom, knowledge, and happiness, or sink, as a land of beggared serfs, beneath the paralysing power of a corrupt and selfish oligarchy.

"In thus addressing you, we desire not to arouse your passions, we would only awaken the nobler feelings of justice, humanity, and Christian duty; considering our cause too sacred to be promoted by violence, or benefited by wrong.

"To you we need not depict the widespread misery of our country. Most of you are familiar with it, in all its sickening forms, and vast numbers of you are already its victims. But we ask you, with all the sober earnestness of men and Christians, whether you will unite with us in one general bond of brotherhood—and by persevering peaceful and energetic means, resolve, at any personal sacrifice, to stay the progress of our national debasement—to check the ravages of starving poverty—to remove the drag chains of monopoly, the over-burdening pressure of taxation, the progress of crime, the race-destroying curse of war; and under the blessing of Heaven, free our country from the accumulating evils of corrupt and selfish legislation?

"Fellow-countrymen, we are not desirous of interfering with your present local arrangements, but we call upon you to meet us in the spirit of truth and justice, to determine with singleness of purpose, *what is best to be done to effect the political and social deliverance of our country?* and, having once determined, to concentrate all our energies to the accomplishment of such a glorious consummation. This, we think, can be done without the amalgamation of societies, between whom differences of opinions and modes of action exist; this can be done legally, constitutionally, and effectively. All that is necessary for its accomplishment is union, energy, and self-sacrifice, *on*

all points of agreement, and forbearance, toleration, and Christian charity, when differences of opinion prevail.

"But, in the election of representatives to meet in such a conference as we contemplate, all party spirit must be excluded; all efforts for forcing *individual views* through the power of numbers must be avoided; a victory obtained by such intolerant, overbearing policy would be defeat to our object—that of having a *fairly-constituted* NATIONAL CONFERENCE, a body in whom all shades of reformers, among the middle and working classes, may place confidence, and under whose peaceful and legal guidance we may unitedly contend, till we have secured the blessing and fruits of freedom.

"We are all desirous that the ensuing conference shall be the means of effecting a better understanding and closer union between the middle and working classes than has hitherto existed; feeling convinced that, so long as the enemies of the people can keep them divided, so long will they both be victimised by a corrupt and liberty-hating aristocracy. We call, therefore, upon the middle classes to send *their representatives* to confer with *those of the working classes*, to see how far they can remove the state of animosity, apprehension, and disunion that prevails; how far arrangements may be made to secure our mutual objects *speedily and peaceably*, and thus free ourselves from the grasping insolence of faction, guard against the storm of anarchy, be secure against military despotism, and unitedly raising up the intelligence and virtues of the democracy on the basis of free institutions, hasten the consummation of that happy period when 'our swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, and our spears into pruning hooks,' and when every man shall sit down in peace and security to enjoy the fruits of honest industry.

"Having been appointed to make arrangements for the calling of a conference, to consider the details essential for the carrying out of the principles on which the National Complete Suffrage Union is founded; and as its paramount object is to effect a union between the middle and working classes, to secure the just and equal representation of the

whole people, we think it our duty to submit such propositions for the consideration of the Conference as may be best promotive of that end. We, therefore, submit the following propositions for the consideration of the Conference, which we call upon you, the Reformers of the United Kingdom, to elect :—

"'1. To determine on the essential details of an Act of Parliament, necessary for securing the just representation of the whole adult male population of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland ; such Act to embrace the principles and details of complete suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, no property qualification, payment of members, and annual parliaments, as adopted by the first Complete Suffrage Conference.

"'2. To determine what members of Parliament shall be appointed to introduce the said Act into the House of Commons, and in what manner other members of the house shall be called upon to support it.

"'3. To endeavour to ascertain how far the friends of unrestricted and absolute freedom of trade will unite with us to obtain such an Act of Parliament, provided we resolve to use our newly-acquired franchise in favour of such freedom of trade, and to vote only for such as will pledge themselves in its favour.

"'4. To devise the best means for maintaining competent parliamentary candidates pledged to our principles ; the most effectual means by which assistance may be rendered to them in all electoral contests ; and also the best means for registering the electors and non-electors throughout the kingdom who may be disposed to promote our objects.

"'5. To consider the propriety of calling upon the municipal electors to adopt immediate measures for securing the election of such men only to represent them in their local governments as are known to be favourable to the principles of complete suffrage.

"'6. To call upon our fellow-countrymen seriously to consider the great extent to which, in various ways, they now willingly co-operate with their oppressors, and to ascertain how far they may be disposed to prove their devotion

to the cause of liberty, by refusing to be used for the purposes of war, cruelty, and injustice, and particularly by the disuse of intoxicating articles.

" ' 7. To express an opinion as to the duty of the people giving their countenance and support to all those who may suffer from espousing their cause.

" ' 8. To determine the best legal and constitutional means for energetically and peaceably promoting the above objects ; for checking all kinds of violence and commotion by which the enemy triumphs ; for disseminating sound political knowledge ; for spreading the principles of sobriety, peace, and tolerance throughout the country, and by every just and virtuous means preparing the people for the proper exercise of their political and social rights.

" ' 9. To devise means for raising a national fund for the purpose of promoting the above objects, as well as to protect all persons, who, in their peaceful prosecution of them, shall become victims of unjust laws or despotic ordinances.'

" And in order to convince the middle classes that the working population have no ulterior object inimical to the general welfare of society, we advise that they meet in the forthcoming conference on terms of perfect equality to discuss these important propositions, feeling convinced that our principles need no other aid than their own intrinsic excellence ; having truth for their basis, and the happiness of the human family for their end, and affording the best guarantee for the security of private property, which we regard as sacred and inviolable, equally in the poor man's labour and rich man's possessions.

" We, therefore, advise that public meetings be called, by advertisement or placard, of not less than four days' notice, in every town throughout the kingdom, inviting the inhabitants to elect representatives to hold a National Conference at Birmingham, on Tuesday, the 27th of December, 1842, for the purpose of deciding on an Act of Parliament for securing the just representation of the whole people ; and for determining on such peaceful, legal, and constitutional means as may cause it to become the law of these realms.

"That two representatives be sent from the smaller towns and boroughs, having less than 5000 inhabitants, and four from the larger ones, excepting that London, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, and Liverpool, may send six representatives, but no more.

"That one-half of the representatives shall be appointed by the electors, and half by the non-electors. The meetings for such purposes to be held separate, unless that both classes can agree in having all the representatives chosen at one meeting, which we earnestly recommend; but where they do not so agree, the two classes are not to interfere with each other's meetings, otherwise their election shall be declared void.

"That, should the authorities interfere or trespass on this constitutional right of public meeting, so as to prevent any meeting from being held, the leading men of the two classes shall then cause nomination lists to be made out, recommending their respective candidates; such lists to be publicly notified, and left in public situations to receive the signatures of the inhabitants; those having the greater number of signatures to be declared elected.

"That the places sending representatives make arrangements for defraying their expenses.

"That as our Irish brethren are prohibited, by exclusive and oppressive laws, from sending representatives to such a conference, we especially invite, and will receive as visitors, all who approve of the object of our meeting, and who share the confidence of the people of that country.

"Should the police or the authorities of any town, in their desire to stifle public opinion, wilfully interrupt or unjustly interfere with the right of public meetings called for legal subjects, we advise that the people in those places cause proper evidence to be taken of such interruption, so that the question may be tried in our higher courts of law; and that Englishmen may learn whether those rights, of which they are proud to boast, *the rights of publicly assembling, and reasonably declaring their opinions*, are sacred and inviolable, or whether they depend on the fiat of some local magistrate, or on a portion of those who hate liberty,

or on a servant of the government armed with staff and sabre.

"Believing that the above objects are perfectly just and legal, being in conformity with our ancient constitutional usages, being the only rational and proper means for ascertaining the public opinion of the country upon any great question affecting the general welfare, we especially invite your co-operation and support. We remain your friends and fellow-citizens, the members of the National Complete Suffrage Union," etc.

The plan for electing representatives to the conference, as set forth in this Address, though agreed to by the council, was not, as might be supposed, approved of by the O'Connorites, who took every opportunity of denouncing it as anti-democratic and unjust. The Complete Suffrage party, however, instead of defending it as a fair and just mode for choosing a deliberative assembly, where reason and argument were to prevail instead of the power of numbers, foolishly gave way, on this very important point, at almost the first meeting they attended after its publication. The result was that O'Connor immediately began his preparations for securing a majority in the conference, recommending as candidates those of his own party to every town where he thought their election could be secured. The middle classes among the Complete Suffrage party, finding that they were likely to be outnumbered by the O'Connorites, and being, moreover, prejudiced against the charter, adopted a plan by which they thought they should get rid of Fergus and his party without ultimate injury to their union. They, therefore, got two legal gentlemen in London, to prepare a bill, founded on the principles they had adopted, and which they designated "The New Bill of Rights," intending to give that *the priority of discussion* at the forthcoming conference. This course was not only unwise—as it proved—but was also unjust, for although myself and Mr. Neesom *were members of their council*, we were never made acquainted with their intentions or proceedings until I was shown the bill in print. I then expressed to Mr. Sturge my great regret at this course of

spreading their deteriorating influence, and gradually undermining the fabric of society.

"Nor is your misgovernment confined to this country alone, but its baleful influence is felt in every part of the world where British authority is known. Throughout our dominions you have permitted rights the most sacred to be invaded, in order to provide resting-places for aristocratical fledglings. You have disregarded the constitutions you have given, violated the promises you have made, and, spurning the prayers and petitions of our colonial brethren, you have trampled upon every principle of justice to establish your power and feed your ravenous lust for gain.

"You have therefore shown *by your acts* that you do not represent the wants and wishes of the people; on the contrary, self, or party considerations, are seen in almost every enactment you have made, or measure you have sanctioned. So far from representing the *commons* of this country, or legislating for them, the majority of you have neither feelings nor interests in common with them. It is seen by your proceedings, that while the supposed rights of every class and party can find advocates among you, *the right of labour is left to find 'its own level.'*

"Is the justice of titles questioned, the wisdom of ecclesiastical law doubted, or a repugnance shown by conscientious men to support the church they dissent from? *The Church* can always find zealous defenders among you. Is the expensive and unjust administration of *the law* complained of, together with all its technical and perplexing absurdities? its wisdom and propriety is at once demonstrated by your host of legal advocates. Does any one presume to question the propriety of our very expensive *military* and *naval establishments*, or to doubt the justice of flogging as a means of discipline?—he will soon find a regiment among you prepared to combat his opinions. Is the justice questioned of allowing the *landowners* to tax the people of this country to the extent of seventeen millions annually, to support their own especial monopolies —the corn laws, etc.?—eloquent advocates will at once be found among you to plead for the vested rights of property.

In short, bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and all interests and professions can find advocates and defenders in the 'Commons House,' excepting *the common people themselves.*

"That there are some well-intentioned and benevolent individuals among you, we readily admit; but far too many of those who profess liberal and just principles think more of the safety of their seats, and the prejudices of their associates, than they do of taking any active measures to carry their principles into practice. Instead of boldly proclaiming the dishonesty, hollowness, and injustice of your present legislative system, the party cry of Whig and Tory is too often the substance of their speeches—the cheat and phantom, which you all used to silence the timid and divert the ignorant.

"That you do not represent the people of this country may be further seen from the fact, that those who return you are not more than *a seventh part* of the adult male population. For by the last returns that were laid before you, while in Great Britain and Ireland there are about 5,812,276 males *above twenty years of age*, the registered electors are only 812,916; and it is practically proved, that of these electors only about nine in every twelve *actually vote;* and of these nine, many possess a plurality of votes.*

"On analysing the constituency of the United Kingdom, it is also proved that *the majority* of you are returned by 158,870 registered electors, giving *an average* constituency to each of you of only 242 electors.

"It is also proved by the returns that have been made, that 39 of you are returned by less than 300 electors each; 43 by less than 400; 20 by less than 500; 34 by less than 600; 34 by less than 700; 20 by less than 800; 18 by less than 900; and 23 by less than 1000 registered electors.

"It is also notorious that, in the Commons House, which is said to be exclusively *the People's!* there are *two hundred and five persons who are immediately or remotely related to the peers of the realm!*

* This was in 1842.

"That it contains 3 marquises, 9 earls, 23 viscounts, 27 lords, 32 right honourables, 63 honourables, 58 baronets, 10 knights, 2 admirals, 8 lord-lieutenants, 74 deputy and vice-lieutenants, 1 general, 1 lieutenant-general, 7 major-generals, 22 colonels, 32 lieutenant-colonels, 7 majors, 67 captains in army and navy, 12 lieutenants, 2 cornets, 53 magistrates, 63 placemen, and 108 patrons of church livings, having the patronage of 247 livings between them. And there are little more than 200 out of the 658 members of your house who have not either titles, office, place, pension, or church patronage.

"These facts afford abundant proofs that you neither represent the *number* nor the *interests* of the millions, but that the greatest portion of you have interests foreign, or directly opposed, to the true interests of the people of this country.

"Setting aside your party changes and rival bickerings, important only to those among you who are in possession of the public purse; with a knowledge of your past actions, and with these notorious facts before us, as plain-speaking men, claiming the freedom of speech as our birthright, we hesitate not to declare that, individually and collectively, you have all been tried by the test of *public utility*, and, with a few exceptions, have been found wanting in every requisite for representatives of an intelligent and industrious population.*

* The Representatives of the People, as described by the *Morning Post*, Jan. 18th, 1835:—

"The most confused sounds, mysteriously blended, issued from all corners of the House. . . . At repeated intervals a sort of drone-like humming, having almost the sound of a distant hand-organ, or bagpipes, issued from the back benches; coughing, sneezing, and ingeniously extended yawning, blended with other sounds, and producing a *tout ensemble* which we have never heard excelled in the House. A single voice, from the ministerial benches, imitated very accurately the yelp of a kennelled hound. . . . At one time you would have thought, from the rapidity with which they rose up and sat down again in their seats, that they had been trying some gymnastic experiments. . . . One Honourable Member imitated the crowing of a cock so admirably that you could not have distinguished it from the performance of a real chanticleer. Not far from the same

"The wide extent of misery which your legislation has occasioned, and the spread of information which your decrees could not suppress, have called up inquiring minds in every portion of the empire to investigate your actions, to question your authority, and finally, to condemn your unjust and exclusive power.

"They have demonstrated to their brethren that the only *rational use* of the institutions and laws of society is to protect, encourage, and support all that can be made to contribute *to the happiness of all the people.*

"That as the object to be attained is *mutual benefit*, so ought the enactment of laws to be *by mutual consent.*

"That obedience to the laws can only *be justly enforced* on the certainty that those who are called on to obey them have had, either personally or by their representatives, a power to enact, amend, or repeal them.

"That all who are *excluded* from this share of political power are not *justly included* within the operation of the laws. To them the laws are only *despotic enactments*, and the assembly from whom they emanate can only be considered an unholy, interested compact, devising plans and schemes for taxing and subjecting the many.

"In consonance with these opinions they have embodied in a document, called 'The People's Charter,' such just and reasonable principles of representation as, in their opinion, are calculated to secure *honest legislation* and *good government.* That document proposes to confer the franchise on every citizen of twenty-one years of age, who has resided in a district three months, who is of sane mind, and unconvicted of crime.

"It proposes to divide the United Kingdom into 300 electorial districts, containing, as nearly as may be, an equal number of inhabitants, each district to send *one* member to Parliament and no more.

spot issued sounds marvellously resembling the bleating of a sheep, blended occasionally with an admirable imitation of the braying of an ass. Then there were coughing, yawning, and other vocal performances, in infinite variety, and in most discordant chorus."

"It proposes to take the votes of the electors by ballot, in order to protect them against unjust influence.

"It proposes that Parliament be chosen annually.

"It proposes to abolish money qualifications for Members of Parliament.

"It proposes that Members of Parliament be paid for their services, and, moreover, contains the details by which all these propositions shall be carried into practice.

"This document, being so just in its demands, has already received the sanction of a vast portion of the population; and petitions in its favour have already been laid before you, containing a larger number of signatures than probably have ever been obtained in favour of any legislative enactment. And though indiscretion among some of its advocates may have retarded public opinion in its favour, we are confident that the conviction in favour of its justice and political efficacy has taken deep root in the mind of the nation, and is making rapid progress among all classes not interested in existing corruptions.

"That you may see the wisdom and propriety of timely yielding to such opinion in favour of a better representative system, and that you will speedily declare in favour of the People's Charter, or, by resigning your seats, prepare the way for those who will enact it as the law of these realms, is the ardent *prayer* of us, the undersigned inhabitants of this kingdom."

The signing of this remonstrance was delayed till towards the end of the sessions, in order that it might not interfere in any way with the signing of the National Petition. The motion, however, founded on that petition, by Mr. T. S. Duncombe, *that the petitioners be heard by counsel at the bar*, having only received the support of fifty-six Members, caused a great number of the working classes to avow a resolution that they would never again pray or petition the House of Commons in any form. Our Remonstrance was, however, signed by a considerable number of people, but, the end of the session approaching, it was deemed desirable to postpone its presentation till the next

session; but, other matters respecting our hall interfering, the project was abandoned. Among the persons who testified their approval of this document was the late persevering and consistent Reformer, Joseph Hume, who, in a letter to the Lambeth members of our Association, thus wrote :—" The principles of reform as set forth in the Remonstrance of the National Association are such as would place the people in their proper state, to protect their property and interests against the rapacity and monopolies of the present system; and I hope to see the Middle Classes soon join with the millions of industrious men in a constitutional agitation for their rights." I deem it but just to record this opinion of Mr. Hume in favour of what may be called extreme views of Radicalism, as O'Connor and his disciples were not sparing of their abuse of him, on account of what they called his Whig principles. That, like too many other reformers of that day, he was often led to support the Whigs for fear of the bugbear of Toryism may be admitted; but I believe that no man was ever more persevering in seeking to carry the principles of reform into every department of the State than was Mr. Hume. And certainly, of all men, whose efforts to free the *Working Classes* from the enthrallment of the infamous *combination laws*, he is the most worthy of honour, and of their grateful remembrance.

CHAPTER XV

In January, 1842, Mr. Joseph Sturge, whose benevolent labours in the cause of humanity and freedom are so notorious, commenced his exertions in favour of what was called "*Complete Suffrage.*" His first effort was the preparing of a Memorial to the Queen, earnestly entreating her to retain in her service and take to her councils such Ministers only as would promote in Parliament that full, fair, and free representation of the people in the House of Commons to which they were entitled by the great principles of Christian equity, as well as by the British Constitution; as, according to Blackstone, "*no subject of England can be constrained to pay any aids or taxes, even for the defence of the Realm, or the support of Government, but such as are imposed by his own consent, or that of his representative in Parliament.*" *

This Memorial having been sent to our Association for signatures, it was resolved to give it all the support in our power; although, at the same time, we felt bound to express our opinion, that neither a full nor fair representation of the people could be obtained till the essentials of the People's Charter were enacted as the laws of the realm. Soon after this, being at a Public Meeting at the Crown and Anchor, on the suffrage question, I was invited, with Messrs. Hetherington, Parry, and others, to meet some of Mr. Sturge's friends in the refreshment-room, to talk over this subject. After some very excellent speeches, there given, by Mr. Miall, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Spencer and others, Mr. George Thompson, the chairman, called upon me for my opinion. I told them that my definition of Complete Suffrage was found in the People's Charter; all

* I have since heard that this Memorial was first mooted at a meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law party.

the principles of which I thought to be essential to secure the just representation of the people. I very briefly gave my reasons in proof of this, and urged on them a fair discussion of the subject. Shortly after this meeting I received a letter from Mr. Sturge, informing me that a Provisional Committee had been formed at Birmingham, and that they intended to call a Complete Suffrage Conference on the 5th of April, 1842.

This conference, composed of eighty-four persons, both of the middle and working classes—appointed for the most part by those who had signed the Memorial referred to—met at Birmingham at the time specified. Mr. J. H. Parry and myself were appointed by the members of our Association to attend it, and Mr. C. H. Neesom and Mr. Charles Westerton, two other of our members, were also delegated—the former from the district of Spitalfields, and the latter from Knightsbridge. The members of our Association, conceiving that there was little chance of a cordial union being effected between the two classes without the recognition of the Charter, on behalf of which so many sacrifices had been made by the working classes, were anxious to bring this document forward as one of the first subjects for discussion. But the Business Committee objecting to this course, the consideration of it was delayed till other matters had been discussed. These were the essential principles that were thought to be requisite for securing a full, fair, and free representation of the people; these were accordingly discussed, and after a very long and earnest debate, we were gratified in seeing most of the principles of our Charter adopted. On the third day, therefore, according to the arrangement previously agreed on, I brought forward the following motion:—

"That this Conference having adopted such just principles of representation as are necessary for giving to all classes of society their equal share of political power, and as the People's Charter contains such details as have been deemed necessary for the working out of such principles, and has, moreover, been adopted by millions of our brethren as an embodiment of their political rights, this Con-

ference, in order to effect a cordial union of the middle and working classes, resolve in *a future conference* (in which the working classes may be more fully represented) to enter into a calm consideration of that document among other plans of political reform, and, if approved of, to use every just and peaceable means for creating a public opinion in its favour." In the lengthened discussion which arose on this resolution, it appeared that considerable prejudice existed in the minds of many of the middle class members against the Charter; though the resolution did not call upon them to agree to that document, but only to take it into consideration, among other plans of reform, at a future conference. However, to conciliate this feeling against us, without any deviation of principle, we Chartists eventually modified the resolution as follows, fully believing that the majority would not be opposed to a fair discussion of the Charter at the next conference :— "That this Conference having adopted such just principles of representation as are necessary for giving to all classes their equal share of political power, resolve at some future period to call another conference, in which the whole people may be fully represented, for the purpose of considering any documents which embody the necessary details for the working out of the above principles." This having been adopted, the Conference next agreed to a plan, constitution, and rules for the formation of a new society, entitled "The National Complete Suffrage Union"; and, after some few other business resolutions, concluded its sittings, it having lasted four days.

This effort to effect a union between the two classes was to some extent successful; for a great many local Complete Suffrage Associations were formed in many towns. Great numbers of the working classes were, however, kept aloof from it, by the abuse and misrepresentations of the *Northern Star;* and others who, so far, approved of the principles of the Union, were not disposed to forego their own agitation for the Charter to join it till they had tested it by another conference. In the meantime, however, the members of the Union were not

idle; tracts were printed, lectures given, meetings held, and, to the best of my recollection, two motions introduced into the House of Commons on the subject of the Suffrage by Mr. Sharman Crawford.

In September, 1842, a special meeting of the Council of the Union was called at Birmingham to arrange, among other matters, for the calling of the next conference. Now, as O'Connor (notwithstanding his hostility to the Union) had boasted largely of his intention to get the working classes fully represented in the next conference, if he spent half he possessed;—which in reality meant that he would get it packed with his own disciples, if possible; —it became a question, with those who wanted a fair conference of the both classes chosen, how it could be best prevented. In talking the matter over with my friends, I suggested that this could be best done by one-half of the representatives being chosen by electors, and half by non-electors; and that if they interfered with each other's meetings the election should be void. This plan being approved of, I drew up the following Address and took it down to Birmingham to submit it to the Council, which, after some discussion, was adopted:—

"The Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union, to Political Reformers of all shades of opinions.

"We address you, fellow-countrymen, deeply impressed with the moral obligation of men and citizens, whose duties have been imposed on us by an authority greater than princes or rulers, commanding us to 'do unto all men as we would wish them to do unto us,' consequently requiring us to lend that aid which ourselves would desire, to extricate from their condition the millions of our brethren, who, by the oppression or neglect of rulers, are plunged in the lowest depths of misery, groping in ignorance, and daily sinking in crime.

"Though we believe that that great Christian obligation calls *upon all men* to assist in freeing their brethren from the power of the oppression, yet, at this crisis, we address ourselves especially to you, the Reformers of the United

Kingdom; because it is for you—the active and intelligent spirit of progression—you who desire to see justice established where injustice is enthroned—it is for you, in your energy and self-sacrificing resolution, to determine whether our country shall rise in freedom, knowledge, and happiness, or sink, as a land of beggared serfs, beneath the paralysing power of a corrupt and selfish oligarchy.

"In thus addressing you, we desire not to arouse your passions, we would only awaken the nobler feelings of justice, humanity, and Christian duty; considering our cause too sacred to be promoted by violence, or benefited by wrong.

"To you we need not depict the widespread misery of our country. Most of you are familiar with it, in all its sickening forms, and vast numbers of you are already its victims. But we ask you, with all the sober earnestness of men and Christians, whether you will unite with us in one general bond of brotherhood—and by persevering peaceful and energetic means, resolve, at any personal sacrifice, to stay the progress of our national debasement—to check the ravages of starving poverty—to remove the drag chains of monopoly, the over-burdening pressure of taxation, the progress of crime, the race-destroying curse of war; and under the blessing of Heaven, free our country from the accumulating evils of corrupt and selfish legislation?

"Fellow-countrymen, we are not desirous of interfering with your present local arrangements, but we call upon you to meet us in the spirit of truth and justice, to determine with singleness of purpose, *what is best to be done to effect the political and social deliverance of our country?* and, having once determined, to concentrate all our energies to the accomplishment of such a glorious consummation. This, we think, can be done without the amalgamation of societies, between whom differences of opinions and modes of action exist; this can be done legally, constitutionally, and effectively. All that is necessary for its accomplishment is union, energy, and self-sacrifice, *on*

all points of agreement, and forbearance, toleration, and Christian charity, when differences of opinion prevail.

"But, in the election of representatives to meet in such a conference as we contemplate, all party spirit must be excluded; all efforts for forcing *individual views* through the power of numbers must be avoided; a victory obtained by such intolerant, overbearing policy would be defeat to our object—that of having a *fairly-constituted* NATIONAL CONFERENCE, a body in whom all shades of reformers, among the middle and working classes, may place confidence, and under whose peaceful and legal guidance we may unitedly contend, till we have secured the blessing and fruits of freedom.

"We are all desirous that the ensuing conference shall be the means of effecting a better understanding and closer union between the middle and working classes than has hitherto existed; feeling convinced that, so long as the enemies of the people can keep them divided, so long will they both be victimised by a corrupt and liberty-hating aristocracy. We call, therefore, upon the middle classes to send *their representatives* to confer with *those of the working classes*, to see how far they can remove the state of animosity, apprehension, and disunion that prevails; how far arrangements may be made to secure our mutual objects *speedily and peaceably*, and thus free ourselves from the grasping insolence of faction, guard against the storm of anarchy, be secure against military despotism, and unitedly raising up the intelligence and virtues of the democracy on the basis of free institutions, hasten the consummation of that happy period when 'our swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, and our spears into pruning hooks,' and when every man shall sit down in peace and security to enjoy the fruits of honest industry.

"Having been appointed to make arrangements for the calling of a conference, to consider the details essential for the carrying out of the principles on which the National Complete Suffrage Union is founded; and as its paramount object is to effect a union between the middle and working classes, to secure the just and equal representation of the

whole people, we think it our duty to submit such propositions for the consideration of the Conference as may be best promotive of that end. We, therefore, submit the following propositions for the consideration of the Conference, which we call upon you, the Reformers of the United Kingdom, to elect :—

" ' 1. To determine on the essential details of an Act of Parliament, necessary for securing the just representation of the whole adult male population of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland ; such Act to embrace the principles and details of complete suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, no property qualification, payment of members, and annual parliaments, as adopted by the first Complete Suffrage Conference.

" ' 2. To determine what members of Parliament shall be appointed to introduce the said Act into the House of Commons, and in what manner other members of the house shall be called upon to support it.

" ' 3. To endeavour to ascertain how far the friends of unrestricted and absolute freedom of trade will unite with us to obtain such an Act of Parliament, provided we resolve to use our newly-acquired franchise in favour of such freedom of trade, and to vote only for such as will pledge themselves in its favour.

" ' 4. To devise the best means for maintaining competent parliamentary candidates pledged to our principles ; the most effectual means by which assistance may be rendered to them in all electoral contests ; and also the best means for registering the electors and non-electors throughout the kingdom who may be disposed to promote our objects.

" ' 5. To consider the propriety of calling upon the municipal electors to adopt immediate measures for securing the election of such men only to represent them in their local governments as are known to be favourable to the principles of complete suffrage.

" ' 6. To call upon our fellow-countrymen seriously to consider the great extent to which, in various ways, they now willingly co-operate with their oppressors, and to ascertain how far they may be disposed to prove their devotion

to the cause of liberty, by refusing to be used for the purposes of war, cruelty, and injustice, and particularly by the disuse of intoxicating articles.

"'7. To express an opinion as to the duty of the people giving their countenance and support to all those who may suffer from espousing their cause.

"'8. To determine the best legal and constitutional means for energetically and peaceably promoting the above objects; for checking all kinds of violence and commotion by which the enemy triumphs; for disseminating sound political knowledge; for spreading the principles of sobriety, peace, and tolerance throughout the country, and by every just and virtuous means preparing the people for the proper exercise of their political and social rights.

"'9. To devise means for raising a national fund for the purpose of promoting the above objects, as well as to protect all persons, who, in their peaceful prosecution of them, shall become victims of unjust laws or despotic ordinances.'

"And in order to convince the middle classes that the working population have no ulterior object inimical to the general welfare of society, we advise that they meet in the forthcoming conference on terms of perfect equality to discuss these important propositions, feeling convinced that our principles need no other aid than their own intrinsic excellence; having truth for their basis, and the happiness of the human family for their end, and affording the best guarantee for the security of private property, which we regard as sacred and inviolable, equally in the poor man's labour and rich man's possessions.

"We, therefore, advise that public meetings be called, by advertisement or placard, of not less than four days' notice, in every town throughout the kingdom, inviting the inhabitants to elect representatives to hold a National Conference at Birmingham, on Tuesday, the 27th of December, 1842, for the purpose of deciding on an Act of Parliament for securing the just representation of the whole people; and for determining on such peaceful, legal, and constitutional means as may cause it to become the law of these realms.

"That two representatives be sent from the smaller towns and boroughs, having less than 5000 inhabitants, and four from the larger ones, excepting that London, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, and Liverpool, may send six representatives, but no more.

"That one-half of the representatives shall be appointed by the electors, and half by the non-electors. The meetings for such purposes to be held separate, unless that both classes can agree in having all the representatives chosen at one meeting, which we earnestly recommend; but where they do not so agree, the two classes are not to interfere with each other's meetings, otherwise their election shall be declared void.

"That, should the authorities interfere or trespass on this constitutional right of public meeting, so as to prevent any meeting from being held, the leading men of the two classes shall then cause nomination lists to be made out, recommending their respective candidates; such lists to be publicly notified, and left in public situations to receive the signatures of the inhabitants; those having the greater number of signatures to be declared elected.

"That the places sending representatives make arrangements for defraying their expenses.

"That as our Irish brethren are prohibited, by exclusive and oppressive laws, from sending representatives to such a conference, we especially invite, and will receive as visitors, all who approve of the object of our meeting, and who share the confidence of the people of that country.

"Should the police or the authorities of any town, in their desire to stifle public opinion, wilfully interrupt or unjustly interfere with the right of public meetings called for legal subjects, we advise that the people in those places cause proper evidence to be taken of such interruption, so that the question may be tried in our higher courts of law; and that Englishmen may learn whether those rights, of which they are proud to boast, *the rights of publicly assembling, and reasonably declaring their opinions*, are sacred and inviolable, or whether they depend on the fiat of some local magistrate, or on a portion of those who hate liberty,

or on a servant of the government armed with staff and sabre.

"Believing that the above objects are perfectly just and legal, being in conformity with our ancient constitutional usages, being the only rational and proper means for ascertaining the public opinion of the country upon any great question affecting the general welfare, we especially invite your co-operation and support. We remain your friends and fellow-citizens, the members of the National Complete Suffrage Union," etc.

The plan for electing representatives to the conference, as set forth in this Address, though agreed to by the council, was not, as might be supposed, approved of by the O'Connorites, who took every opportunity of denouncing it as anti-democratic and unjust. The Complete Suffrage party, however, instead of defending it as a fair and just mode for choosing a deliberative assembly, where reason and argument were to prevail instead of the power of numbers, foolishly gave way, on this very important point, at almost the first meeting they attended after its publication. The result was that O'Connor immediately began his preparations for securing a majority in the conference, recommending as candidates those of his own party to every town where he thought their election could be secured. The middle classes among the Complete Suffrage party, finding that they were likely to be outnumbered by the O'Connorites, and being, moreover, prejudiced against the charter, adopted a plan by which they thought they should get rid of Fergus and his party without ultimate injury to their union. They, therefore, got two legal gentlemen in London, to prepare a bill, founded on the principles they had adopted, and which they designated "The New Bill of Rights," intending to give that *the priority of discussion* at the forthcoming conference. This course was not only unwise—as it proved—but was also unjust, for although myself and Mr. Neesom *were members of their council*, we were never made acquainted with their intentions or proceedings until I was shown the bill in print. I then expressed to Mr. Sturge my great regret at this course of

proceeding, as I thought that the putting forth of this measure in opposition to the charter would destroy all chance of union between the two classes, as myself and others who had joined them could not with any consistency vote for their "Bill of Rights" in opposition to the charter, and that I believed that the majority of the working classes would not desert the document they had so long fought for, for this new measure the council had prepared.

When, therefore, we had forwarded to us the programme of the conference, as prepared by the council, and found by it that they proposed to bring forward "the bill of Rights" *for priority of discussion*, those of our friends who had been delegated from London met together to determine what was best to be done. In looking at the programme it was seen at a glance that on the Bill of Rights being proposed some of the O'Connorites would propose an amendment in favour of the charter, on which we, if true to our principles, would be compelled to vote. It was, therefore, recommended to me that, when this measure was proposed, I should do all I could to induce them to withdraw it, or otherwise to propose the People's Charter as *an amendment*, as by this course a breach might possibly be avoided, which otherwise was sure to take place.

This second conference, consisting of 374 members, met at Birmingham on Tuesday, Dec. 27th, 1842, according to the arrangement made. After some minor business regarding the letters received, and the election of members, they proceeded to consider the most important part of their programme, this new bill. When, therefore, my friends Mr. Thomas Beggs and Mr. John Dunlop had proposed the resolution, "That the bill to be presented by the Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union be taken as the basis of discussion," I rose to urge on the Complete Suffrage friends the necessity for withdrawing that part of the resolution if union were to be maintained. I endeavoured also to remind them, that I was induced to modify my resolution regarding the charter at the last conference, on the understanding that its details would be discussed at the present one; and I informed them that if our friends

were not disposed to do this I should consider it my duty to propose, that the People's Charter be taken as the basis of discussion as an amendment to the resolution proposed. It being then, however, near the time of adjournment, the conference broke up its sittings to give our Complete Suffrage friends sufficient time for considering the proposal made to them. The next morning, they not being disposed to yield the point regarding their bill, I proposed the following amendment, which O'Connor seconded :—

"That the document entitled the People's Charter, embracing as it does all the essential details of just and equal representation, couched in plain and definite language, capable of being understood and appreciated by the great mass of the people, for whose government and guidance all laws ought to be written ; and that measure having been before the public for the last five years, forming the basis of the present agitation in favour of the suffrage, and for seeking to obtain the legal enactment of which vast numbers have suffered imprisonment, transportation, and death, it has, in the opinion of this meeting, a prior claim over all other documents proposing to embrace the principles of just representation ; it is, therefore, resolved that we proceed to discuss the different sections of the People's Charter, in order to ascertain whether any improvements can be made in it, and what those improvements shall be, it being necessary to make that document as clear and as perfect as possible."

To this there were two other amendments proposed—one to the effect "that neither of the bills proposed take priority, but that both be laid on the table" ; and the other, "that the Bill proposed being founded on the Charter, it was not necessary to discuss any other document." Previous to the vote being taken, I informed the Conference that in my anxiety for union I had made the following propositions to the leading members of the Complete Suffrage Union :—"That both the propositions *for priority* should be withdrawn" ; "That the two documents (the People's Charter and the Bill as proposed by the Council) should be laid on the table" ; "That the clauses of the two

documents should be read and discussed alternately" ; "That thus having extracted all that was valuable in both, and formed a Bill, that this Bill should go forth to the country without any other title than 'A Bill to provide for the just representation of the people.'" But, I regret to say, that this reasonable proposal was not acceded to, those gentlemen rather wishing that the motion and amendment should go to the vote. The vote being consequently taken, there appeared for the original motion of Mr. Beggs 94, and for my amendment 193. After this decision the minority left the conference and met at another place to discuss their Bill ; and the majority continued their sittings to discuss the details of the Charter ; to which some slight amendments were made, and ordered to be printed for the consideration of the people. I may here state my conviction that the split was not so much occasioned by the adverse vote, as from the strong resolve of the minority to have no fellowship with Fergus O'Connor ; but they did not, in my opinion, adopt the straightforward method to effect it.

CHAPTER XVI

In returning to the subject of the National Association I may state that efforts were made in some few places to form local bodies, similar to those of the London members, but they did not enroll sufficient numbers to make them effective. Our London Association, however, continuing to increase, it was deemed advisable to look out for a larger place of meeting. A large building, known as Gate Street Chapel, Holborn, being to be let about this period, it was thought to be a very desirable place, if we could raise the means for putting it in substantial repair, for, having been long unoccupied, it was in a very dilapidated state. Some few wealthy friends having been consulted, among others Mr. J. T. Leader, who promised us £50, it was resolved to take it for the purposes of the National Association. Four of our members were accordingly selected as persons in whose names it should be taken, and forty others subscribed to a legal document, agreeing to pay each a pound annually, should the means not be forthcoming to pay the rent, rates, and taxes, for which the four were legally responsible. It was accordingly taken on a lease of twenty-one years, we agreeing to rebuild a portion of one of the walls, and to otherwise put it in good repair. It having been also taken on the understanding that it should not be used for socialist purposes, as the chief object of our Association was to unite persons of all creeds and opinions in favour of Chartism, the members deemed it necessary to come to the following resolution :—"That the hall shall *not be used for purposes of controversial theology*." This was subsequently made one of our fundamental rules, as was another, "That no intoxicating drinks should be allowed on the premises." It was also agreed that the hall should "*be managed by twelve directors*," four of them to be those of us who were

legally responsible for rent, etc., four to be chosen by the forty guarantee members, and four on behalf of the London members. I deem it necessary to state this, as the divided management and the rule regarding the letting of the hall were constant sources of contention, and contributed in no small degree to weaken the efficiency of the Association. This, however, was not felt to begin with, as all our efforts were directed to the raising of the means, and the fitting up of the place. The repairing and fitting it up, together with the furniture, cost us upwards of £1000 to commence with; £600 of which were paid by subscriptions raised from members and persons favourable to our objects, leaving about £400 unpaid, a debt which, during the existence of the Association, was a constant source of embarrassment to the directors, and, finally, was one of the chief causes that led to the dissolution of the society. For, owing to the enthralment of this debt, we were unable to meet the expenses necessary for public meetings, lectures, schools, periodicals, newspapers, etc., essential for creating an interest sufficient for the public to join us, or for retaining a great number of those who had; and many of our officers were frequently obliged to subscribe together to pay pressing debts.

The National Hall, capable of containing nearly two thousand persons, was opened in July, 1842, with a public festival. It was devoted to public meetings, lectures, concerts, and classes of different kinds, to most of which the public were admitted on reasonable terms. Our coffee-room and library were for the use of members, although the public were subsequently admitted when business was not being transacted. Among the most prominent and talented of our lecturers were Mr. J. H. Parry, Mr. W. J. Fox, Mr. Thomas Cooper, and Mr. P. W. Perfitt. The lectures Mr. Fox delivered there have since been published in three volumes.* Soon after our

* It is here necessary to state that we were induced to engage Mr. Fox in consequence of a kind and generous offer made to our Association by a philanthropist, whom I shall designate A. B., that he would contribute £100 a year towards the lectures if the Association would give a like sum, a proposal which was readily agreed to.

opening, being desirous of establishing classes for the teaching of music and dancing, we applied to the magistrates of Middlesex for a licence, but were refused on account of our Chartist principles ; these worthies, doubtless, conceiving that Chartists should not be allowed to sing or dance under the ægis of authority. Although these same discriminating guardians of the principles and morals of the people, very shortly after licensed a place, at no great distance from us, where pugilistic contests were publicly given for the amusement of the people, and where girls of the town were admitted to their dances as an attraction, free of payment.

Owing to our embarrassing debt, we were not able to establish, what we all desired, a day school for children, but in 1843 we managed, with what apparatus we could afford, to open a Sunday School upon a small scale. Free admission was given to all who came cleanly in clothing and person ; the education given being reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography, with such other kinds of information as was in our power to bestow. It was kept open for about four years, and was conducted by myself and such of the members as we could induce to sacrifice their time to Sunday teaching after the toils of the week.

The great exertions made by the people of Ireland in this year, in favour of the Repeal of the Union induced our Association to send them a very excellent address on the subject, written by Mr. C. H. Elt. A few weeks after Mr. O'Connell, at a meeting at the Corn Exchange, Dublin, in noticing this document, was pleased to make a very severe attack upon me, which induced me to put forth the following reply :—

" Sir,—A few weeks ago the National Association, of which I am a member, deemed it advisable to put forth an address to the people of Ireland on the subject of their present agitation. That address was couched in respectful terms, and expressed no other wish than the welfare of that country, however it might differ from you as to the

most efficient means for its attainment. As the representative of Ireland you promised to reply to it, but the only fulfilment of that promise was a sneering doubt regarding the existence of the Association from which it emanated, and an unjust attack upon me, as the person whose signature was attached to it as Secretary.

"Sir,—It would seem that this mode of answering arguments is peculiarly characteristic of you, of which I have lately seen so many examples, as to be induced to pity it as a natural infirmity; and this last attack of yours would have been unnoticed by me had you not charged me *with political dishonesty*, had you not accused me of *uniting with your self-important countryman Fergus O'Connor*. To rebut these accusations, and to show that I could not have acted otherwise than I did act at the Birmingham Conference without being politically dishonest, are the chief inducements for thus publicly addressing you.

"Sir,—It is somewhat singular, after your 'minute enquiries,' that you should not have heard of the National Association, seeing that you were the first to publicly praise it in Ireland, about two years ago, and for which praise of yours the Association was contemned by that luminary the *Northern Star* and its august chieftain as a '*new move*,' chiefly of your concoction, and was consequently denounced and condemned by all the faithful vassals of Fergus throughout the kingdom.

"But, sir, I am not going to defend the merits nor prove the existence of the National Association; the men who compose it will not yield to you in their desire to benefit mankind, though they doubt the propriety of effecting it by threats, abuse, and individual calumny; and if the Address represented only the person whose signature was attached to it, if it did not merit an answer, at least it did not deserve your slander.

"The public papers represent you as saying, that you could not think me politically honest, because I joined Fergus O'Connor against Joseph Sturge. Now, sir, this is not true. The Council of the Complete Suffrage Union deemed it advisable to draw up their plan of Complete

Suffrage in a Bill which they called a 'Bill of Rights'; and at the last Conference brought forward a resolution for giving that Bill priority of discussion. I, *who with you and others*, had framed the People's Charter, and who had frequently at public meetings pledged myself, never to cease agitating for it till it should become law, I who had joined the Complete Suffrage movement as a Chartist, *regarding the Charter as my definition of Complete Suffrage*, and having moreover been induced to believe that the Charter would become the chief subject of discussion at the Conference, could not allow that same Charter to be passed over, or superseded by another Bill. Therefore, after saying all I could to do away with the question of priority, so as to admit both Bills to be fairly discussed, and finding it unavailing, I proposed a resolution expressive of my opinion on the subject, which resolution was seconded by Fergus O'Connor. Now, how this can legitimately be construed into '*a union*' *with him*, or how this conduct of mine can any ways be considered '*dishonest*,' I leave the public to determine. But, sir, let me briefly contrast this adhesion of principle with your conduct as regards the People's Charter, and let the public then determine who ought in justice to be accused *of political dishonesty*.

"In 1838 a meeting was convened by the Working Men's Association for the purpose of inducing professors of Radical principles to adopt and contend for some definite plan of reform. At that meeting you, among other Members of Parliament, attended, and after much discussion (which took up two evenings), a series of resolutions were agreed to, pledging you and others to draw up, and introduce a Bill embodying Universal Suffrage and all the other essential points of Radical Reform. The resolutions thus agreed to were subsequently signed by you and others, which signatures I have still by me to remind you, if you need it, of your perfidy to Chartism. When Mr. Cleave and myself waited upon you the morning after the meeting, to obtain your signature, you gave us the names of several of the Irish Members who you thought

would also sign them, and by your conversation induced us to believe in your sincerity. The Bill thus promised was subsequently drawn up; you attended the Committee when it was finally adopted, you suggested amendments, some of which were adopted, some rejected, and were in all respects a party to it. The Bill thus prepared and agreed to was the *People's Charter*.

"But, previously to our commencing any active agitation in its favour, your Whig friends had given you power and patronage in Ireland, which seems to have greatly influenced your views of Chartism. You began by accusing the English Chartists of a desire for blood, although, as the originators of the Charter, we declared from our first meeting in its favour, that we were opposed to force and desired only to create and extend an enlightened public opinion in its favour.

"Your ex-favourite O'Connor (who had hitherto burked the Charter in his *Star*), with the Rev. Mr. Stephens and others, finding Chartism becoming popular, and likely to be more profitable to them than the anti-Poor-law movement in which they had been engaged, began by denouncing us as 'moral-force humbugs,' and having means at their disposal for tramping the country, began to undermine the good that had been effected, by their unmeaning threats and vaunting rhapsodies.

"You cunningly seized the advantage thus given you; you began your fulminations against the whole Chartist body; you condemned all because of the conduct of the few; the Marplots of our cause you held up as our *leaders;* and your loyalty to Whiggery became so rampant as to cause you to offer the whole force of Ireland to put down and extinguish that which you had helped to kindle.

"We, still wishing to undeceive you (not knowing the Whig game you were playing), sent an Address to the Irish people signed on behalf of 136 different Associations, clearly setting forth our principles, disclaiming leadership of every description, repudiating the doctrine of force, and earnestly beseeching the people of Ireland to join us in our just and peaceable object.

"But no, you persisted in your opposition to Chartism, your threats of force to put it down called forth feelings of retaliation; your talents, your energies, were fearfully wielded on the side of oppression; persecution begat bitterness, treachery, defiance, till at last the best feelings of some of the best men in our ranks were carried to a point beyond which reason cannot extenuate, nor our calmer judgment approve of.

"Sir, it is my deliberate conviction that you are mainly responsible not only for the persecutions and sufferings which thousands have undergone for the sake of Chartist principles, but also for the political policy, and subsequent oppression, of the last six or seven years. If you, instead of joining the Whigs in their persecution, had been true to your professions, and had sincerely laboured for the equal representation of the people, as is proposed by the People's Charter, we should never have heard of the violence, the folly, and intolerance, which the enemy has so successfully introduced into our ranks. Your bitter invectives caused some of the best men in the country to doubt, to desert, or regard us with horror; so that those who wished to establish the Charter, by conviction of its justice, were soon left in the minority by those who found their profits extended by excitement, and their vanity gratified by being regarded as political saviours by a famished and oppressed people.

"You talked of my joining O'Connor against Joseph Sturge, thus seeming to possess great anxiety for the cause of Complete Suffrage. You talked largely, legally, and patronisingly, respecting it in its infancy; but what practical steps have you ever taken to render it effective? None.

"You talked of it as you formerly talked of Universal Suffrage, making it the flourish of some flowery harangue, but still regarding it as a beautiful theory, too good to be practised even in your newly-proposed '*Domestic Legislature.*' If you were sincere, you had the means of making Complete Suffrage the opinion of Ireland as much so as your present Repeal project; which you have fondled

into being as the bugaboo of Toryism, and which, there is every reason to believe, you would again strangle if it stood in the way of your individual supremacy.

"Sir, whatever may be your aspirations, be assured that (with some advantage of talent in your favour), O'Connor and yourself will afford parallels in history of two lawyers the most popular in their day, because the most eminent in the art of political gulling. Of two professing reformers equally skilled in the art of retarding all social improvement, and of checking all political reform. Men, who stood chieftains in their arena by vituperation and blarney; who silenced their opponents by denouncing them, and who retained no colleagues but subservient lackeys who daily trumpeted their virtues and their sacrifices. Men, who, scorning every elevating sentiment, continually appealed to the passions and prejudices of the multitude, setting man against his brother man till the intolerance, bitterness, and persecution they had engendered, aroused all good men to unite to restrain the evil and prevent the further demoralisation of their brethren. Sir, I have seen sufficient of your proceedings to know that these sentiments, expressive of my opinion of you, will be construed into a 'Saxon's hatred of Ireland,' and opposition to her just rights. But, though I yield to no man in an ardent desire to see the wrongs of Ireland redressed, I cannot help believing that you, by your conduct, for many years past have mainly contributed to keep both England and Ireland in political bondage.

"In support of your miserable instalment principle you dragged the people of the two countries through the quagmire of Whiggery for years; to maintain your paltry patronage, you encouraged the Whigs to acts of despotism they dared not otherwise perpetrate; till the nation, sickened of their perfidy, was glad to embrace Toryism as the least of two tyrannies.

"But, sir, so long as the people of any country place their hopes of political salvation *in leadership of any description*, so long will disappointment attend them; and if the people of Ireland would have 'justice,' they must

relinquish their leading-strings, and win it for themselves, they must build up their own liberties, or they will never be truly free. The principle of political right, and knowledge to use it wisely, must go hand-in-hand, otherwise no change of masters will benefit them ; they will be cheated and enslaved by their 'Domestic Parliament,' as they have been by their 'Imperial' one."

In September, 1843, I received a very kind letter from Mr. A. H. Donaldson, of Warwick, and Mr. J. Mason, of Birmingham, two members of the National Charter Association, requesting me to allow them to nominate me for the Secretaryship of O'Connor's newly-proposed Association, his well-known *Land Scheme*. Having, however, no faith in the originator, or in the scheme, I gave them the following reasons, publicly, for refusing :—

"Dear Sirs,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of yesterday, expressive of your regret of the circumstances which have kept me from your union, and requesting that I would give my consent to your nomination of me as Secretary of your newly-proposed Association. My good sirs, if I could perceive any change in the circumstances you refer to, calculated to render any union effective, no personal feelings should stand in the way of my cordially uniting, in any rational measure, for carrying out the great object for which I have so long laboured, the just representation and social happiness of my fellow-men. But I will be frank with you, though I have every reason to believe that this frankness will be construed into personal feelings against individuals. But still, as you have referred to the subject, this shall not prevent me from stating my opinions regarding an individual as introductory to my reasons for not complying with your request. Whatever may be the merits of the plan you are met to discuss, I cannot overlook O'Connor's connection with it, which enables me at once to form my opinion as to any good likely to be effected by it, and which at once determines my course of action. You may or may not be

aware that I regard Fergus O'Connor as the chief marplot of our movement in favour of the Charter; a man who, by his personal conduct, joined to his malignant influence in the *Northern Star*, has been the blight of democracy from the first moment he opened his mouth as its *professed advocate*. Previous to his notorious career there was something pure and intellectual in our agitation. There was a reciprocity of generous sentiment, a tolerant spirit of investigation, an ardent aspiration for all that can improve and dignify humanity, which awakened the hopes of all good men, and which even our enemies respected. He came among us to blight those feelings, to wither those hopes. Not possessing a nature to appreciate intellectual exertions, he began his career by ridiculing our '*moral force humbuggery*,' as he was pleased to designate our efforts to create and extend an enlightened and moral public opinion in favour of Chartist principles. By his great professions, by trickery and deceit, he got the aid of the working classes to establish an organ to promulgate their principles, which he soon converted into an instrument for destroying everything intellectual and moral in our movement. Wherever good was to be undone, principles to be uprooted, and honest men's reputations to be undermined by calumny, there he posted, like the spirit of evil, to gratify his malignancy; and the *Star*, a mere reflex of the nature of its master, only sought to outvie him in his attacks upon everything good in democracy, or to place Toryism once more in the ascendant. By his constant appeals to the selfishness, vanity, and mere animal propensities of man, he succeeded in calling up a spirit of hate, intolerance, and brute feeling, previously unknown among Reformers, and which, had it been as powerful as it was vindictive, would have destroyed every vestige and hope of liberty. I refer not to those persons who, from feeling and conviction, believed that liberty might be won by force, and who, with all the enthusiasm of their nature, were ready to die for the cause they had espoused; but I refer to that brutal spirit which denied the free utterance of thought, and which, had it possessed power, would con-

sequently have silenced every opposing tongue. The men who, in the time of persecution and danger, had stood courage-proof, were among the first victims selected by this physical-force blusterer and his brawling satellites; no means, however despicable, no lie, however hollow, were neglected to destroy all those who dared to think, or who refused to bow to the golden calf, who had deified himself as the only object worthy of Chartist worship. The credulous were therefore fed from week to week with forged and slanderous romances against individual character and reputation; the envious were gratified in the work of persecution, and the unthinking captivated with the man who, *according to his own professions*, had lost class, station, and fortune in their cause; and they therefore readily joined in the warwhoop of the *Northern Star* till they had driven thousands into exile, and had consigned many noble-hearted victims to an untimely grave. Did any man, or body of men, venture to assert that they had equal rights with others, to proclaim their views, or to agitate for their principles, their motives were at once impugned by this great 'I am' of Chartism, they were crucified in the columns of the *Star*, and the fawning pack of intolerants who, from gain or fear, were its zealous retainers, were hounded on to hunt and clamour down those presumptuous sticklers for individual right and freedom of action. Nay, so inconsistent and blind have those professing democrats been, that while they have joined O'Connor in his endeavours to put down every other kind and shade of agitation, *except Chartism as defined by the 'Star,'* they have been led away and befooled by a hundred crotchets which he has set up for the purpose of bringing new readers to his paper. Need I allude to his recent panegyrics on Dan, and his unsuccessful attempt to divide the honours of 'repeal' with that illustrious deceiver of the working classes; or to his still more recent project, '*The Land*,' and his six-acre scheme, which I understand is to form the prominent object of your new organization. The conduct and character of this man, which I have thus briefly referred to, have prostrated all hopes of success of any plan

which he may be connected with; and I fear that my Chartist brethren will never redeem their cause from the odium which he and his satellites have cast upon it till they relinquish his pernicious counsels, return to the just and rational course of agitation which he caused them to swerve from, cultivate tolerant and brotherly feelings in their ranks, invite the co-operation of the wise and good of all classes, and instead of trusting to leadership of any description endeavour to work out their own political salvation. For myself, I will have nothing to do with such a man as O'Connor, not only believing him to have done irreparable mischief to our cause, but knowing him to be politically and morally dishonest; I believe he will still further injure every cause he may be connected with. With no other feelings towards you but those of personal respect, I must nevertheless decline your offer for nominating me for your secretary."

In June, 1844, the late Emperor of Russia paid a visit to this country, with the object, it has since appeared, of getting our Government to consent to his possession of Turkey; a piece of information, kept back by our rulers from the people, with which they ought to have been at once acquainted, and the dangers at the same time pointed out to them of the contemplated aggression. Had this been done, the probability is, neither the Menschikoff mission nor the Crimean war would have taken place, nor all the horrible consequences that have since ensued. It was, I believe, our courtly *shillyshallying with a tyrant* that induced him to believe that he could bully the Turks out of their possessions, without any other danger than a few paper pellets from the diplomatists of Europe. Rumours of his coming having reached the members of our Association, we resolved on calling a public meeting, to lay an account of some of his atrocious deeds before an English audience. It so happened that about the same period Joseph Mazzini was induced to believe that his letters had been opened at the post office, and that in consequence of such a nefarious act the Austrian Government had obtained in-

formation which led to the sacrifice of a number of Italian patriots, the Bandean Brothers especially. How to ascertain positively this letter-opening business became a question. In furtherance of it I was requested—among other friends of Mazzini's—to write a letter to him, and to fold it up in such a way, with some small matters inside, that if it were opened I should be perfectly assured of it. I accordingly wrote a letter to him, stating the rumours I had heard of the Czar's intended visit, and wishing to know whether he (Mazzini) knew anything positively of his coming, as we intended to get up a public meeting on the occasion. This letter was folded up and put in the post office, in presence of Mr. Hetherington, and it having been brought back from Mazzini's as he received it, was again opened in Mr. Hetherington's presence. Before, however, it was opened, we were both satisfied, from its appearance, that the seal had been broken, and when opened we had proof positive. Others having discovered, in a similar way, that their letters to Mazzini were opened, presented a petition to Parliament on the subject. Mr. Thos. Duncombe, having patriotically taken up the matter, was successful in bringing to light the whole of this *Grahamizing system*, a proceeding which was very properly reprobated from one extremity of the kingdom to the other.

The Emperor Nicholas having arrived, and having been very courteously received at Court—lauded by the Royal Society as "the friend of science"—and otherwise toadied and flattered by a large portion of the public press, our Association put forth the following bill for the calling of a public meeting :—

"*Nicholas of Russia in England !*—A public meeting will be held at the National Hall, on June 6th, 1844, for the purpose of ascertaining how far the people of England are prepared to welcome to their country the Russian Emperor Nicholas.

"He, who by butcheries and cruelties unparalleled effected the subjugation of unhappy Poland ; and when he had massacred, tortured and expatriated her bravest sons

and defenders, and extinguished every vestige of freedom, amid the silence of destruction proclaimed that '*Order reigns at Warsaw.*' He who, not satisfied with his brutal conquest over a brave people, has since sought to extinguish their name and blot out their memory. By his despotic edicts he has closed the Universities of Poland, abolished her schools, forbidden her language, destroyed her religion, commanded that her children should be brought up in that faith which makes the emperor equal with God! and enforces his horrible mandates with the knout, with death, or banishment to the mines of Siberia.

"He, who has pursued with vengeful cruelty every brave spirit who, seeking the elevation of his brethren, has dared to strive against his despotism. Torture, lingering captivity in grated cells, banishment and death; women publicly flogged and tortured to death for favouring the escape of their relatives; thousands of virtuous females forced from their parents and handed over to gratify the lust of his soldiers; black atrocities like these form but a small portion of the catalogue of his iniquities.

"Englishmen! It is said that this active, scheming, wily tyrant; this chief personification of European despotism; this despiser of human right, and persecutor of all who dare defend it, has been invited to the court of St. James's. Can it be possible that Englishmen who talk of sympathy with the wrongs of Poland, and talk of Jewish emancipation, will welcome to the Royal table the direst oppressor of Poles and Jews?

"Englishmen! You who love liberty, hate tyranny, and are loyal to your country, be on your guard against foreign corruption; be especially vigilant when tyrants like Nicholas are invited to your country; and above all urge your Queen to guard against the contaminating influence of despotism."

The numbers who attended this meeting were sufficient to fill to overflowing two other public meeting rooms, besides the National Hall, which was crowded to excess. The following resolution, being one agreed to on that

occasion, will serve to show that we were intuitively right in our apprehension of the Czar's visit, which after ten years of secret diplomacy has recently been made manifest.* "That the people of England have just cause for suspecting that some infringement on the rights of humanity or public liberty is contemplated when a tyrannical and despotic sovereign visits their country; and it behoves them earnestly to watch lest those in power betray the trust reposed in them, to gratify the desires of such a man as Nicholas."

In the same year the fire-brained son of Louis Philip, Prince de Joinville, with the war ministry of Thiers, together with a number of other combative animals on both sides of the channel, exerted themselves in various ways to stir up a quarrel between England and France; two countries which of all others ought to be allied in the cause of peace, liberty and progress. Knowing the incalculable evils that would inevitably result to the working millions of the two countries by such a contest, we deemed it our duty to do all we could to allay the bad feeling that was being excited, and with that view issued the following "Address to the Working Classes of France on the subject of War":—

"Brethren,—By this title we presume to address you; for though the channel divides, *just principles* and *mutual interests* should unite us, and though, at this crisis, bad men would foster prejudices and strife between us, the spirit of Christian brotherhood should recall us to our duty, and cause us to spurn all those who would urge us to break every moral obligation, and plunge our respective countries into a ferocious and devastating war.

"We are, for the most part, *working men* who now address you—men, who intent on the political and social improvement of our brethren, conceive we have some claim to the attention of those of our own class upon any subject of mutual and vital importance; and considering war as paramount for evil, in its demoralising effects, as well as

* This was his attack upon Turkey, which led to the Crimean War.

for retarding the intellectual, moral, and physical progress of mankind ; we deem it our duty to invite you, fellow-men, in the spirit of fraternity, to a calm consideration of its evils as they respect ourselves, our countries and our race ; and would urge your co-operation in appealing to the higher and nobler feelings of our brethren, to devise means for extinguishing this destructive spirit, which has cursed our race from the beginning of time.

" We are induced to make this appeal to you, the working classes of France, in particular, as the warlike spirit has of late been sought to be fomented between us, by those who have either party views to promote, exclusive interests to protect, or who, like vultures, hope to thrive on the carnage of war.

" The press, too, of both countries, with few exceptions for some time past has unhappily been administering to our combative feelings ; and by sallies of wit, boastings, and threatenings, seeking to fan our old (and we trust never to be revived) animosities into a flame of destructive war. Nay, to the disgrace of those who shared in it, we have seen professed followers of Him who preached forgiveness and mercy, vindictively inciting those they could influence to revenge the real or supposed insult to an individual, by plunging whole nations into war.

" The prevalence of this insane conduct has caused us to appeal *to you, the Working Millions—you*, by whose industry the munitions of war must be raised—*you*, who are mainly selected to be the tools and instruments of warfare—*you*, who must perform the bidding of some aristocratic minion, were it to war against freedom abroad or to exterminate your brothers at home—*you*, who have most cause for lamenting the sacrifices and bereavements of war—*you*, who must bear (and are now bearing) the burthens in peace which past wars have inflicted—*to you we appeal*, who with the working millions of England, must bear the brunt and sacrifices of war, and of you we ask for a verdict condemnatory of the strife which the parties we have alluded to are seeking to foment.

" We address you, the *working classes*, because we believe

that *the interests of our class are identified throughout the world.* Our interests are evidently in the peaceful cultivation of our lands, the feeding of our flocks, in the ingenuity and extent of every manufacture and production capable of administering to human happiness; the reciprocal interchange of our commodities, the full enjoyment of the fruits of our labour; and the cultivation of freedom, intellect, morality, religion and brotherly affection among all the nations of the earth; in all these we believe there is *an identity of interests*, and when the majority of our brethren have knowledge to perceive it, the advocates of national strife will be few, and the trade of war will fail to bring either glory, honour or fame.

"Can men so readily forget the enormous expenditure of money, and immense sacrifice of life, wasted in the last wars between your country and ours, that they are so anxious to renew them? The Revolutionary War and the war against the Empire have already cost England £2,229,830,000, and the destruction of more than 700,000 human beings, and if to this amount we add the sacrifices made by your country, we should imagine that such a holocaust of life and wealth sacrificed to the demon of war, sufficient to glut the sanguinary appetites of men to all posterity. Does not every generous mind already revolt at the record of blood between two nations said to be foremost in civilization and refinement? and shall the page of history be still further defiled with the atrocities of war between people who ought to *lead the world to freedom by their intellect and moral greatness?* Forbid it every tongue! condemn it every mind devoted to human happiness!

"Imagine, fellow-workmen, that the wealth and human energies sacrificed in our last wars had been devoted to the instruction, comfort and happiness of our neglected, ill-used, and unhappy fellow-labourers, what imperishable and glorious results might now be realized. What schools, what colleges, what smiling happy villages, might be covering the soil beneath which repose the dust of beings once madly incited against their fellows, to glut the ven-

geance, or gratify the vanity of those whom the world is still taught to worship as 'heroes.'

"We would also direct your attention to the amount *annually* expended by our respective countries in consequence of the demoralizing spirit of war. The annual war expenditure of England at present is £14,513,916; of France, £20,418,730, an enormous amount annually drained from the sinews of our brethren, and used to enslave and degrade them. Yet the only excuse for this mischievous and useless warlike array, is the mutual fear or jealousy entertained by one country of another: *mutual folly*, which it is high time the common sense of our brethren condemned and scouted, not only as a pernicious waste of the fruits of their industry, but as an instrument for perpetuating national feuds and political slavery. If England and France were to set an example to the world, if two powerful nations united in amity, relying on the interests, energies, and affections of their people to repel all who dared assail them, we should soon witness *the holiest of all national alliances*, one for promoting the peace and happiness of the world.

"But those who would excite your prejudices, remind you of the evils which our country has inflicted on France. They condemn our rapacity and lust of power—they point with jealousy to our colonies, and with envy to the extent of our commerce: and for past ills would fain invoke present retaliation.

"Now, fellow-men, we are not of those who would frame an apology for injustice, and we also condemn, and have the burthen of our debt to remind us of, the monstrous injustice of warring against the rising liberties of your country. We have also great cause for lamenting all the wars which our aristocracy have waged for the preservation of "their order," as for providing resting-places for their children and dependants; and would greatly rejoice if every colony of England were *self-governed*, and attached to us by no other tie than that which should unite all countries—that of enlightened self-interest, and the brotherhood of man. We class our late wars in China

and Afghanistan with the war you are now waging in Algeria, as *unjust wars;* the power of might being immorally exercised in all, as it always is when force and destruction take the place of reason and justice.

"But our object is not the mere condemnation of particular wars, but of all war; believing *war in principle* to be *vengeance in practice*, a vice equally opposed to our *morality* and condemned by our *religion;* its tendency being to deteriorate the noble faculties of man, and strengthen those which level him with the brute. It stands the most formidable impediment to the civilization of our race, rendering nearly nugatory the best devised efforts for elevating humanity; for, by polluting the youthful mind with tales of blood, by stamping public approbation on deeds of vengeance, and idolizing *as heroes* those who have excelled in crime, we sap the very foundations of virtue, and offer the highest premium to vice.

"Be assured, fellow-men, the evils of our age cannot be remedied by the sword; the steady *increase of knowledge* is the harbinger of freedom to the millions, and *individual and national morality* must be the basis upon which political and social prosperity must be founded. The arts of peace are fast preparing a highway to the world's happiness; the ingenuity of invention and triumphs of genius are fast breaking down the barriers which separate nations; gothic prejudices are yielding before human sympathies; the productive classes are fast learning the lesson of human reciprocity, and eventually the freedom of nations will be placed on a foundation not to be endangered by official folly, or destroyed by the whim of a despot.

"And shall this promise of good be marred by the ill-intentioned or unreflecting? by those who plan battles on paper, and prefer fighting by proxy; who talk of national '*honour*' being purified by '*blood!*' who invoke the specious name of 'glory' to induce our brethren to leave their peaceful pursuits, their homes and relatives, to deal destruction and death against those who have given them no just cause for resentment? Let but the united voices

of the millions proclaim it *madness*, and the civilization of the world is secure.

"Unhappily for the cause of peace and human progress, State and Church are combined in favour of war. We have seen your bishops and ours bless its flags and symbols! invoke the Deity for its success, and pour out their thanksgivings for victory! But, fellow-workmen, though the highest authority may sanction, *it cannot establish the justice of crime*. The principles of religion and morality stand out broadly in condemnation of war, and to these we would refer you, against all power and all authority.

"In furtherance then, of this sacred cause, in the spirit of brotherhood, in the love of peace and hatred of war, we respectfully submit the following propositions for your consideration, amendment, or approval, hoping that they may form a preliminary bond of fellowship, to unite us for every good object tending to advance the intelligence, morality, freedom and happiness of mankind:—

"'1. That we, the working classes of France and England, respectfully present our different legislative bodies with a solemn *Protest against all war*, as being in principle opposed to morality, religion, and human happiness.

"2. That we request them to use their influence with the nations of the world, to establish *a Conference of Nations;* to be composed of three or more representatives, chosen *by the people* of their respective countries, to meet annually, for the purpose of settling all national disputes that may arise, by *arbitration*, without having recourse to war.

"3. That we urge on them to devote the enormous sums now expended in war and warlike preparations to the *education* and *improvement of the people* of their respective countries.

"4. That we impress on them the necessity of setting *an example to other nations*, of that justice, forbearance, morality and religion, which they preach the necessity of to their own people.

"5. That we earnestly beseech them to set the bounds

of justice *to their acquisitions of territory*, and seek to amend their institutions, and improve the condition of their people.'

"Should you concur with these propositions, or with others more effective, for the just and peaceful accomplishment of the object aimed at, we shall be ready to co-operate with you; excepting that we do not desire to enter into any new agitation short of our primary object, The Political and Social Improvement of the People.

"But it is not on our rulers alone we should rely for support and sympathy in this great cause. *but on our own combined intellectual exertions.* We have too long relied on others for effecting our political and social redemption; each and all must labour in this grand work, and every individual must be religiously impressed with the necessity of exertion and sacrifice to effect it. The increasing progress of knowledge is rendering opinion powerful, and it lies with the millions to make that opinion conducive of good to themselves and posterity. Let us therefore, brethren, begin by directing our own thoughts to the examination of great principles, and honestly proclaim them bad or good, regardless of consequences to ourselves.

"If, on examining the principles of peace and war, we think the former should be extended and the latter condemned, we should commence our reform at the source of pollution, and begin with our children. We should remember that the warlike tales and toys of the nursery are the seeds of strife and battle; and that *our admiration* of warlike splendour and gory '*glory*' is fitting instruction for moulding our sons into soldier slaves, or tyrant chieftains.

"Instead of stamping our approbation on the *heroes of war and oppression*, let us seek to generate a more ennobling opinion in favour of those who have contributed to the intellectual greatness or physical happiness of their country; then indeed would Art contribute her best efforts to elevate and dignify humanity, instead of representing the mementoes and horrors of war, to brutalize and degrade it.

"Nor must we, in our pursuit, forget the power we

possess to render the *press* one of the most powerful instruments for human benefit, instead of being, as it too often is, the ally of power and corruption. Let us wisely discriminate and generously encourage that portion of it which maintains its exalted character, as the proclaimer of *truth* and asserter of *right*, and thus shall we gradually lead it onward to perform its highest duties—*the improvement of human institutions* and *the perfecting of human character*.

"Sincerely hoping that your country and ours may long be cemented in fellowship, that our people may unitedly seek to secure the peace and tranquility of the world, that our rulers may effect timely reforms, and apply the vast resources of our fair countries to the happiness of our brethren, and that we may all fast progress in knowledge, morality, and universal brotherhood, is the ardent hope of the Members of the National Association."

This address was translated both in France and Switzerland, and, from letters we received from friends, I am induced to believe that it had a very fair circulation in those countries. But, although it was very generally commended by our own press, it did not altogether escape censure. The *Liverpool Journal* put forth an article in reply to it, entitled "An Apology for War," which was replied to by another from our Association, entitled "*An Apology for Peace*." Wishing, however, to compress these pages within reasonable limits, I shall give but two paragraphs from it:—

"But looking to the black record of our race with feelings of pity and regret to think that so many nations should have risen up to be swept away by the scourge of war, to think that highly-gifted man should be urged, tiger-like, to prey upon his brother, and to destroy and desolate his brother's home; looking, we say, *to the past* as the necessary phases of ignorant and degraded humanity, we would appeal to the intellectual light, the moral and religious feelings *of the present*, and would ask our country-

men, *is there no other road to individual and national liberty but the gory road our ancestors have trod ?*

" If *war* is the only path to civilization, what a *mockery is it to preach up the religion of Christ.* If brute force is to be the instrument of human happiness, why talk of cultivating the mental and moral nature of man, the more he partakes of the nature of the savage the better will he be prepared for the work of war and destruction."

In the later end of this year (1844), I took part in the formation of a society entitled, " The Democratic Friends of All Nations," its chief object being to cultivate a brotherly feeling among the people of different countries, by meeting together at stated periods for the purpose of friendly conversation, and for rendering assistance to those who were driven from their country for seeking to advance the cause of freedom. It was chiefly composed of refugees from France, Germany, and Poland, to which were joined a few English Radicals. Their first public " Address to the Friends of Humanity and Justice among all Nations " was written by myself. I was given to understand, however, that the following portion of it gave great offence to *the physical force party*, and caused many of them to stand aloof from the Association during the short time that I continued a member of it :—

" Not that we would incite you to outbreaks or violence, for we have faith in the mental and moral combinations of men being able to achieve victories for humanity beyond the force of armies to accomplish. What are wanting are men armed in all the moral daring of a just cause, and resolved at all risks to pursue and achieve their righteous object. Let but the same daring mind and resources which have so often warred with tyranny, and so often been worsted in the conflict, be once *morally applied and directed*, and citadels, armies, and dungeons will soon lose their power for evil.

" A cheering prospect to encourage you to espouse the cause of humanity is seen in the extent of mental light

which is so rapidly being diffused among the productive classes. They are gradually awakening to a sense of the wrongs inflicted on them by exclusive institutions and privileged orders, and are beginning to declare that they, too, *are brethren of the same common family.* Many of them may have mistaken the *forms for the principles of true democracy;* may have had too much faith that others would accomplish that freedom for them which each individual must strive to attain, and may still have too much confidence in arms and sinews, and too little reliance on mental and moral effort. But the spark of mind once kindled is inextinguishable; it will spread silently and surely to the destruction of old errors, time-worn institutions and gothic privileges, till the mind-illumined ranks of labour shall rise up in all their moral grandeur to declare them vain and puerile, and that henceforth *the brotherhood of man shall be their rule and motto,* and that the heroes of their veneration shall be the wise, the good, the true, and useful, who have laboured to redeem the world from slavery, oppression, ignorance, and crime."

From an Address to the Chartists of the United Kingdom, put forth by the National Association in 1845, in consequence of the anti-democratic conduct of O'Connor and his disciples, I extract the following:—

"Amid this state of disunion and despondency we deem it our duty to address you, for we cannot be brought to believe that you would *knowingly consent to be the instruments of your own slavery.* We are persuaded that numbers of you have been deceived by sophistry, and led by falsehood to injure the cause you have so warmly espoused. We seek to call you back to reason; we have no interests apart from yours; we may honestly differ from you regarding the best mode of effecting our object, but we are all equally agreed on the necessity of its attainment.

"For, amid the present distracted state of our cause, we have the strongest faith *in the justice of Chartist principles.* We still believe that those who have once espoused them

will always cherish them, and we still hope that you, the Chartists of the United Kingdom, will yet arise *in your mental and moral might*, purified from past errors, and will unitedly and ardently strive for the attainment of those rights proclaimed by the Charter, by conduct which shall win the esteem of the wise and good of all classes, so that, ere long, Government will be powerless in opposing your claims.

"We would ask you, then, in all sincerity, whether the conduct we have referred to is in accordance with your professions of democracy? *Democracy*, in its just and most extensive sense, means *the power of the people mentally, morally, and politically directed, in promoting the happiness of the whole human family, irrespective of their country, creed, or colour*. In its limited sense, as regards *our own country*, it must evidently embrace *the political power of all classes and conditions of men*, directed in the same wise manner, *for the benefit of all*. In a more circumscribed sense, *as regards individuals*, the principle of democracy accords to every individual *the right* of freely putting forth his opinions on all subjects affecting the general welfare; the right of publicly assembling his fellow-men to consider any project *he may conceive to be of public benefit*, and the right of being heard patiently and treated courteously, however his opinions may differ from others.

"We regret to say, fellow-countrymen, that in almost all these particulars the principle of democracy has been violated by a great number of professing Chartists. What would *you* think of your arguments and resolutions *in favour of the Charter* being continually met by speeches and amendments in favour of any one political measure? Of every public meeting you got up being invaded by your opponents, and your proceedings drowned by clamour? Would you not justly denounce them as despots, thus to assail and obstruct your right of public meeting, by constantly introducing a subject foreign to the object for which you had assembled? And is it just, we would ask, to do that to others which you yourselves would condemn?

"Be assured, fellow-men, that such proceedings can never

serve our righteous cause; and the proof is afforded in seeing that those who have indulged in it are only powerful for mischief; are the disgust of all reflecting Chartists, the dupes of the enemy, and blind to their best interests; not only disgusting their friends, but affording their enemies plausible arguments of their unfitness for the suffrage. We can readily believe that some persons may find their interests promoted by such insane proceedings. But surely you who desire to see the Charter the law of England, can never suppose it can be realized by such disgraceful means. We would ask the thoughtful and considerate among you, whether such conduct has not driven from our ranks hundreds of intelligent and active individuals, who, in different localities, once formed the stay and strength of our cause? Nay, are not hundreds to be found who lament the loss of parents and friends sacrificed by violence and folly, instigated by those same individuals who are still the fomenters of strife and disunion?

"Judging from their conduct towards the middle, the trading and commercial classes, persons might be led to suppose that the Charter was *some exclusive working-class measure*, giving licence for abuse, threats, and violence, instead of a measure of justice for uniting all classes in holy brotherhood for promoting the common good of all. That the working classes too often experience wrong and injustice from persons in all those classes, as well as from those who possess the political power of the state, is admitted; but surely those evils can never be redressed by such conduct. No, friends! There is a principle of goodness, of right and justice, pervading universal humanity. To that principle we must appeal, that we must cultivate, that combine, if ever we hope to see political justice established.

"Be assured that those who flatter your prejudices, commend your ignorance and administer to your vices, are not your friends. 'Unwashed faces, unshorn chins,' and dirty habits, will in nowise prepare you for political or social equality with the decent portion of your brethren,

nor will the ridiculous title of 'Imperial Chartists' prepare you for the far better one of 'honest democrat'! Empty boastings, abusive language, and contempt for all mental and moral qualifications, will rather retard than promote your freedom; nay, if even you possessed political power, would still keep you the slaves and puppets of those who flourish by popular ignorance.

"But it is for you, *the reflecting portion of the Chartist body*, to determine whether renewed efforts shall be made to redeem our cause from its present position; whether the enemy shall continue to avail himself of those means hitherto so successfully applied to divide us; whether we shall continue to be pitied by the good, feared by the timid, and despised by all those who batten on the fruits of our industry; or whether we shall purge and purify our ranks of those who now disgrace it, and by a combination of the wise and good, once more rise into vitality and strength."

CHAPTER XVII

In the following year, 1846, great excitement was called forth by the newspaper press of England and America regarding the disputed territory of Oregon. Perceiving the lamentable results that would inevitably follow from a quarrel between two countries so connected by trade and commerce, by associations of country and ties of blood, we thought it advisable to do all in our power to allay the bad feeling sought to be created. Knowing that the industrious millions in both countries would have to bear the brunt and burthen of war, we endeavoured to influence this class by the issuing of the following "Address to the Working Classes of America on the War Spirit sought to be created between the two countries":—

"Working Men of America.—By our alliance of blood, of language, and religion, as well as by every aspiration we feel for the mutual freedom, peace, prosperity, and happiness of our respective countries, we would address you as *brethren*, in the assurance that, as brethren, our interests are identified, and in the hope that no other spirit than that of brotherhood may long continue to exist between us.

"But the hostile threats and warlike preparations, the jealousies and prejudices now sought to be fomented by the interested, thoughtless, and immoral of your country and our own, have awakened us to a deep sense of dangers which threaten the peace and welfare of the *working classes of all countries*, evils which we believe our mutual understanding and wise and determined resolutions may timely avert.

"You, fortunately possessing political power to restrain the unjust acts of your rulers, are, we fear, too apt to believe that the prosecutions, encroachments, and insolence which

for ages past have characterized the aristocracy of England towards most nations of the earth, have been shared in by the great body of the industrious classes; who, unhappily, for the most part, have hitherto had *neither voice nor vote in the matter*.

"That the power and influence of our aristocracy over the minds and consciences of men, their perversion of every principle of morality and precept of religion to uphold their power and monopolies, have often enabled them to enlist great numbers of our unreflecting brethren to fight their battles and espouse their cause, we readily admit; but these, we conceive, should be pitied rather than *blamed*, as the deluded victims of selfish and hypocritical men; persons who have perverted justice and truth for gain, and the religion of peace and good will for the purposes of war, contention, and strife.

"Within the last few years, however, knowledge has been rapidly extending its influence among the industrious millions of England; universal right is now asserted, and is progressing, despite persecutions and sufferings; anomalies, corruptions, and vices in Church and State are being exposed; unjust privileges and monopolies decried; and mental and moral worth fast allying itself to the cause of humanity and justice. Thus knowledge, extending and combining, is fast calling forth mental light and political power, tending to the good of our country, such as our State Church can no longer mislead, standing armies restrain, nor aristocratic influence avert.

"This progressive improvement towards a higher state of civilization and happiness to which all good men are looking forward with delight, our aristocratic rulers would gladly mar, and nothing but war and national commotion would favour the accomplishment of their wishes. With the high-swelling cant of 'individual glory' and 'national honour,' the din and dazzle of warlike preparation, they would speedily intoxicate *the unreflecting*. They would then be enabled to turn the national mind from all social and political improvement to the prospect of foreign battles, and brilliant (though expensive) victories. Our present

moral and intellectual progress, the advance of trade, commerce, and the peaceful arts of life would be stayed and obstructed by the unholy scourge of war, and thousands of our brethren having their worst passions loosened and excited, would be transformed into savage demons thirsting for blood.

"We beseech you, Working Men of America, do not permit yourselves to be drawn or seduced into war, and thus afford the enemies of our liberties and the haters of yours, a pretext and opportunity to produce those lamentable results; nay, it may be to jeopardize the rights and liberties which you now enjoy. Your country has long been an asylum for persecuted freedom throughout the world, and your democratic institutions inspire the hopeful and struggling among all nations; but while your Republic offers a beacon to cheer and animate the friends of human rights and equal laws, it at the same time sends forth a light that despotism would fain extinguish. For be assured, the despots of Europe would gladly cast aside their petty contentions to form another unholy alliance against the growing Republic of America; and though their combined power might fail to crush your liberties, they would not fail in desolating your shores, and in destroying great numbers of your people.

"What, too, has prevented the further development of *your national resources?* the cultivation of your fertile soil? the increase of your capital? the progress of your commerce? and the further prosperity of your people? What, but the same power that has retarded *our* liberties, paralyzed our manufacturers, crippled our commerce, and pauperized and impoverished our country? What but the selfish, monopolizing aristocracy of England? who, by their prohibitory laws, their imposts and burthens, have raised up barriers of injustice and enmity to prevent the prosperity of both countries.

"Despite their maddened efforts, however, those barriers are fast yielding to the progress of thought; the knell of monopoly and injustice is sounding, and the prospect of political righteousness and social happiness is lighting up

with hope the cheeks of our famished and pauperized population. Working men of America, do not, we pray you, by any unwise proceedings on your part, retard or prevent the consummation of such prospective happiness, the fruits of which you will not eventually fail to share.

"We fain hoped that Republican America was free from that mania of kings and princes, the grasping after territory and dominion. Think you that any amount of *real power or advantage*, either to you or to us, could be gained by the possession of such an inhospitable and savage region as that now disputed by your rulers and ours? Think you that the *strength* of England is augmented by her dominion over her colonies, most of which she must keep bristling with bayonets to keep down her half-rebellious progeny? It is true they may form objects of solicitude to the scions and offshoots of our aristocracy, enabling them to eat the bread of idleness, but to the mass of the English people they are far more burthensome than profitable. Surely the disputed question regarding the territory of Oregon, might be amicably settled *by arbitration*, the peaceful and just mode of arranging all such matters, without plunging our two countries into war, and, it might be, the whole of Europe also; and with such an unfortunate event, all its destructive consequences—a state of desolation and misery it would take centuries to repair.

"And surely you the working classes of America, cannot so readily have forgotten the lessons of your greatest statesmen and profoundest philosophers respecting the evils and consequences of war; nor can we suppose that you have less regard for those great principles of morality and religion, which unitedly condemn it as one of the monster evils that afflict our race.

"Working men, this military and warlike spirit must be curbed and kept in subjection, if ever we desire the civilization and happiness of our race. Men, indeed, cannot be called *civilized* who will consent to be made the tools and playthings of statesmen, or who delight in the playing of soldiers on their own account. The constant appeals to

the individual vanity and mere animal propensity of the soldier, and the narrow spirit of nationality sought to be engendered, are antagonistic to the mental and moral development of our nature, and the broad and ennobling principles of universal brotherhood and peace.

"How much longer will the labouring population of the world submit, that that wealth which is accumulated by their incessant toils, anxieties, and privations, shall be applied to the keeping of thousands in idleness and vice; with no other object in view than that of still making them toil for the drones of society, or the going forth at the bidding of their rulers to murder and destroy? For, in our desire of human progress, we could wish that what is called '*honourable warfare*,' and '*glorious victories*,' were properly designated to be NATIONAL CRIMES! For were they for the most part stripped of their gloss and glory, *and tried by our moral or Christian code*, one of them would exhibit an aggregate of crime, comprising murder, robbery, and devastation—more black and atrocious than could be found in the collected annals of a century.

"The *war-spirit* already excited between our two countries has prepared the way, and given a pretext to our rulers to inflict additional burthens on our working-class population. Already they have announced their intention of adding, under the name of a militia, upwards of 40,000 soldiers to our present army; to take our brethren from their homes and avocations; and while, on the one hand, they cause us to pay upwards of *ten millions annually* for our clergy to preach to them *the religion of peace and brotherhood*, to impose additional taxes on the other hand, *for the purpose of imbuing their minds with the spirit of war and vengeance.*

"This additional number of human beings, who by their skill and labour could raise food, clothing, and habitations to bless the half-starved millions of our country, are to be taken—many of them from their wives and children—for *three years*, to be drilled and disciplined in the arts of destruction; and, it is said, to be kept apart from their fellow-citizens in *military barracks*, doubtless lest sympathy

and interchange of thought should disqualify them for their brutal profession.

"This burthen, too, will, in all probability, as usual, fall upon *the Working Classes* for the most part; for should they seek, *by fine or substitution*, to avoid being taken from their homes and families, the poorest labourer, on his shilling per day, will have to pay equally with the wealthiest person in the kingdom: the consequences will be, that *wealth* will in most cases procure exemption, and the sons of poverty be left to their fate.

"Such, friends, are the first-fruits of this warlike excitement here, about a portion of territory of little use to either country, and which, perhaps, in strict justice, belongs to neither. But why should we, the industrious classes, year after year, and age after age, thus submit to injustice? We, whose interest is in the peaceful cultivation of our respective countries—in the production of the conveniences and arts of life—in the peaceful interchange of our commodities—and in the intellectual and moral development of ourselves and children—why should we, who have no quarrels or disputes with one another, be thus continually made *the victims or tools* of those who delight in contention and profit by war?

"Fellow-men! deeply impressed with the wickedness, injustice and misery, that always flow from such contentions, we would call upon all good men, but more especially on you, *the Working Classes of England and America*, to use every intellectual, moral, and political means you possess, to extinguish that spark of natural animosity which is now sought to be fanned into a flame; and to be prepared to make any personal sacrifice to prevent the direful calamity of war between the two countries. On this subject we have morality, Christianity, and justice on our side; and if our firm and peaceful conduct should call forth the power of the law or the strength of the oppressor, we had better far be martyrs in the cause of right, than suffer ourselves to be coerced into the shedding of human blood, and the retarding of the civilization of our race.

"We trust, however, that this dispute of our rulers may

be speedily settled *by arbitration;* and earnestly hope that the growing intelligence of the age may lead men to perceive *the demoralizing and deteriorating effects of soldiers and armies*, and to perceive that *war is more fatal in its moral and physical effects than the plagues, earthquakes, and tornadoes of nature.* That so impressed they will speedily free themselves from the evils and expenses of Standing Armies, garrisons, and ships of war—that they will soon seek amicably to settle their national disputes by a *Congress of Nations*, freely chosen by the people of their respective countries—and that, through such instrumentality, universal peace and human brotherhood may be established, freedom extended, commerce promoted, and the arts, industry, and civilization of *each* be made to contribute to the welfare of *all.* In the ardent desire for fellowship and peace, and in the hope that both our countries may advance in knowledge and happiness, and seek to promote the happiness of all others, we remain, your brethren, the Members of the National Association."

This Address was widely circulated, both in England and America, and was warmly commended by the peaceful portion of the press, in both countries. Our Aristocratic Statesmen, however, evinced a far greater alacrity in providing for a contest against *Republican America* in support of this paltry territory than they did to check the wholesale encroachments of *barbarous Russia;* although they knew Nicholas's intentions years before his base attack upon Turkey. The Lords Lieutenants of Counties were at once written to regarding the enrolment and training of the Militia; and the newspapers, in their interest, informed the people that the *ballot* was to be renewed, and that the half of those enrolled were to be called on for duty for *three years.* Now, beyond our desire to be at peace with America, we had seen enough of former *ballotings for the Militia* to allow of us remaining silent, when preparations were being made for restoring this unjust and obnoxious system. We accordingly put forth our reasons against it, and by public meetings and otherwise called forth a strong

expression of the working classes against the measure proposed. The war feeling that was sought to be excited, also called forth the reprobation of many public bodies, and a great number of addresses were exchanged between the peacefully-inclined in both countries, calling loudly for arbitration, and these happily led to this peaceful means being adopted for settling the question in dispute.

I have mentioned, in a former part of my story, that, owing to an embarrassing debt, our Association was not able to accomplish the establishing of *a Day-School for Children*; one of the most important objects set forth in our prospectus. In the beginning, however, of 1846, a kind friend (who, not liking to be talked of as the doer of good deeds, shall be designated A.B.), made a proposal to the Association, through Mr. Francis Place, for the establishing of a day school in the hall under my superintendence and management; he agreeing to provide the necessary desks and apparatus for the opening of the school, as well as to pay the *fixed salary of the schoolmaster*. Indeed, the proposal was first made to myself, to the effect that I should conduct it; but having then some distrust of my own abilities for a teacher, I was fearful of undertaking the task. I readily agreed, however, to superintend it as I best could; and hence the proposal was made to the Association in the form stated. The majority of our members having highly approved of the proposal, arrangements were speedily made, and certain alterations effected in the hall for carrying the plan into execution. As soon, however, as it became known that such a school was to be established, an application was made to Mr. Place and myself by a person offering himself as a schoolmaster, for the conducting of the school, he understanding us to have the appointment. In the note which he sent to me, stating his qualifications, he said he had written to Mr. Place more fully on the subject. I accordingly went down to Brompton to Mr. Place, in order to ascertain his opinion on the subject, as well as to express to him my own, which was to this effect:—That as we wished to establish *a secular school* upon a broad and liberal basis, such as might embrace

children of either Christians, Jews, or Infidels, I thought we should do wrong in giving it either a Sectarian or an Infidel character, as we should assuredly do if we placed at the head of it the person who had applied to us, he being an avowed Atheist. That as one of the objects of our Association was to embrace persons of all creeds, classes, and opinions, in favour of our political views, and as our own members were of various religious opinions, I thought we should be acting unjustly to them, as well as thwarting our objects, were we to stamp our school as an Infidel school. Therefore, without entering into the question of the applicant's merits or demerits, I thought him a very improper person to appoint as schoolmaster. As, however, he (Mr. Place) was the person through whom the proposal was chiefly made, and as he was greatly my senior, I should leave him to decide on the answer that was to be given to the applicant. On my return home, I also mentioned the subject to several members of our committee, and they concurred with me that the applicant was not the kind of person whom we ought to appoint as schoolmaster. By leaving the answer altogether to Mr. Place, however, it appears that I did wrong; for he neglected to give any answer for or against the appointment, so that when I met the person some days after (it might be weeks), I was greatly annoyed to find that no answer had been given to his application. I told him, however, the steps I had taken in connection with it, and the opinions I had expressed to Mr. Place regarding him. He said it was very possible that his appointment might have affected the school, as I apprehended, but that he was then very indifferent about such a situation, as he was about to start a new periodical. On learning from me that we had not yet been suited with a teacher, he referred me to a person whom he thought would suit us, one, he said, who had some experience as a schoolmaster. Some weeks after this explanation had taken place, a few of our members, who were greatly prepossessed in favour of the applicant referred to, made a charge against me of a dereliction of duty in not answering his letter, as before stated. Their

motion, however, after a warm discussion, was lost by a very large majority. But regarding this as one of a series of insults I had lately received from the same parties, I was induced to resign my situation as secretary to the Association. This resignation delayed the opening of our day school for nearly two years.

In 1846 I became a member of the Council of the Anti-Slavery League, of which Mr. George Thompson was president, and Mr. Robert Smith, secretary. This association was formed on the occasion of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglas, and Henry C. Wright's visit to England, three noble champions of the poor slaves. I am induced to believe that the chief object of their visit was to impress upon religious bodies that slavery was a heinous sin, and ought to be abolished; and also to urge on them the necessity of witholding fellowship from the religious bodies of America, who were the advocates and abettors of slavery. Among the religious bodies of England and Scotland, they endeavoured to influence the Evangelical Alliance on behalf of the slave, but were unsuccessful. They accordingly got up a public meeting on the subject at Exeter Hall, where the mock Christianity of this body was treated rather freely. Our League having strongly condemned the conduct of some of these bodies, who, for the sake of filthy lucre, and the subscriptions they were in the habit of receiving from the religious slaveholders of America, persisted in recognizing them, regardless of the millions of their fellow-men in slavery; and hence we were noways popular with them. We, however, employed Frederick Douglas for a short time as our missionary, and his and George Thompson's very eloquent discourses called forth great sympathy on behalf of the poor slave. Lloyd Garrison, also, while he was in London, gave a very eloquent lecture on slavery at the National Hall.

During our friends' visit, I recall to memory a very delightful evening spent with them and other friends, at the house of Mr. J. H. Parry. On that occasion we had not only a very interesting account of the Anti-Slavery movement and its prominent advocates in America, but our

friend Douglas, who had a fine voice, sang a number of negro melodies. Mr. Garrison sang several anti-slavery pieces, and our grave friend, H. C. Wright, sang an old Indian war song. Other friends contributed to the amusement of the evening, and among them our friend Vincent sang "The Marseillaise."

In this year, also, I became acquainted with Mr. George Gill, of Nottingham, a gentleman whose liberal and patriotic benevolence led him to establish, in that town, the People's College, devoted to the purposes of education; the People's Hall, intended for meetings, lectures, and classes of instruction for the working classes; also a place called the Retreat, consisting of several comfortable cottages, for aged people, rent free. I had previously drawn up for him a constitution for his college, and in 1856 I received an invitation to come down to Nottingham to draw up a constitution for the People's Hall. He was very infirm at the time, and exceedingly deaf, but having made myself acquainted with his wishes, I prepared the document. This, having received his approval and that of his son, and late partner, was sent off to his lawyer to be engrossed. My old friend, however, died before it could receive his signature, but his son, I hear, has since honourably carried out his noble father's wishes.

Being out of employment, as before stated, I was recommended by my friend, Mr. Prideaux, to William and Mary Howitt, and was shortly after engaged by them as the publisher of their journal. This very excellent little periodical had a very fair circulation at first; and bid fair to pay well, but a dispute between Mr. Howitt and John Saunders, the editor of the *People's Journal*, regarding the conduct of the latter, caused the circulation to fall off. In the meantime Mr. Howitt became involved in pecuniary difficulties, by reason of his former connection with the *People's Journal*, so as eventually to lead to the discontinuance of his own journal, and the loss of what property Mr. Howitt possessed. Fortunately, however, William and Mary Howitt possessed a mine of mental wealth that trouble and difficulty could not altogether deprive them of,

although these greatly operated for a season to injure the health and spirits of both of them. They have now, however, by great industry and unwearied application in their pursuits, mastered their enemies and their troubles, and have since delighted their readers by the production of many very excellent works, one of which, "Land, Labour, and Gold," recently published by Mr. Howitt, a work descriptive of Australia and Van Dieman's Land, forms a picture of governmental stupidity and official incapacity in relation to these fine countries, which will make future generations wonder why their ancestors were such patient, plodding animals, to be so beguiled and befooled as they have been. In expressing this opinion, I may add, that it is now many years since my first acquaintance with these very estimable people, and, the more I know of them, the stronger is my appreciation of their worth and excellence and goodness of heart.

During the time I was the publisher of *Howitt's Journal* I had not much time to devote to politics, although I continued to take part occasionally in the proceedings of the National Association. Perceiving, however, the variety of efforts that were then made in different directions in favour of Political and Social Objects of Reform, it struck me that the realization of most of them might be easily accomplished by some plan of co-operation, if persons could be induced to engage in it. I, therefore, put forth the following "Proposal for the consideration of the Friends of Progress":—

"Fellow-Countrymen,—Millions of our brethren, from their ardent desire to promote such changes, social, political, moral and religious, as they conscientiously believe will remove, or greatly abridge, the present lamentable amount of poverty, misery, vice, and crime, may all justly be considered *friends of progress*.

"Knowing that vast numbers of those friends are actively engaged in their respective societies, as well as individually in forwarding each their peculiar views, too often midst difficulties and discouragements ending in disappointment,

and destructive of future efforts, I have long been desirous of seeing some combined effort made, by which—as I conceive—all the various objects of reform which they are separately in pursuit of, may sooner be realized than can possibly be effected by individual or isolated effort; while, at the same time, they are cultivating principles of peace, union and brotherhood, which doubtlessly form the best foundation for social happiness and national advancement.

"To effect any great improvement in this country, politically, or socially, we have learnt from experience the great effort that is needed, as well as the great amount of money that must be spent before public opinion can be formed and concentrated so as to influence our legislature in favour of even *one* measure of reform; and yet *very many are needed* to effect our social and political salvation.

"Owing to this slow and tardy process of reform, misery vice and crime are perpetuated; thousands are born and die in ignorance and vice; and thousands, too, often lose to health and hope in the continuous and protracted struggle make men wiser, better and happier than they found them.

"This slow progress for good is evidently to be attributed to the great variety of measures advocated by different bodies of reformers; also by the contentious feelings too often engendered in their onward progress, and the consequent difficulty of uniting our brethren in favour of any one object; and, above all, in the great difficulty of abrogating *old laws, or instituting new ones* necessary to effect or facilitate the reform desired by any particular body of Reformers, or portion of the people.

"But as all those various classes of Reformers *are equally the friends of progress*, all zealous and desirous of benefiting their fellow-men, and, it may be, all equally active in promoting the especial object they have espoused, it will be useless to call upon any of them to give up their particular object in favour of any *one* measure that may by some persons be considered more practical and important than another; for such appeals have frequently been made, and as often disregarded.

"As measures of progress, they are all doubtlessly important, if not equally so; and as they are all equally desirous to check evil and promote good, and, it is presumed, *anxious to live to see the realization of some of the objects they are contending for*, the question arises whether upon *the good Samaritan principle*, of each helping his fellow-man, they can be brought to unite, the sooner to *realize the objects they are severally in pursuit of*, and thus carry forward, simultaneously, all those measures necessary for accomplishing the greatest good in the shortest possible period.

"In reflecting on the difficulties in the way of progress it has struck me that something might be done to facilitate such a desired object, in the formation of a General Association of Progress; in which might be combined *all those measures of social and political reformation for which societies are established, or mankind individually are now in pursuit of;* as well, indeed, as any other measure calculated to aid the great cause of mental, moral, and political progression.

"Anxious that something should be done in favour of some combined effort for the progress of humanity, I have presumed to address you, as well as to direct your attention to the following proposal, as an outline explanatory of my views on the subject, which may be improved or altered by any persons disposed to promote or aid such an undertaking:—

"Proposal for forming a General Association of Progress.

"Its first object being to unite in one General Union of Progress all those who are now separately, or in small bodies, seeking the attainment of the following *political* and *social* objects. Secondly, to devise some *practical measures* for unitedly promoting and realizing such objects in a shorter time than can possibly be done under present arrangements; and this without interfering in any way with the internal regulation of any present association.

"Political Objects of Association.

"1st. The *Equal and Just Representation* of the whole people.

"2nd. The Abolition of all *State Religion;* and the right of conscience and opinion secured.

"3rd. The *Absolute Freedom of Trade;* and the abrogation of all Custom and Excise Laws.

"4th. The *Abolition of all Taxes upon Knowledge:* such as the tax and securities on newspapers, stamps, and advertising duties, taxes on paper, books, pamphlets, &c.

"5th. The *General Reduction of Taxation;* and a more rigid economy of its expenditure.

"6th. *Direct Taxation on Property;* and the abolition of all *indirect* means of raising a revenue.

"7th. The *Abolition of all Political Monopolies* and *Unjust Privileges.*

"8th. The *Legislative Improvement, Impartial Execution* and *Cheapening* of *Law and Justice* for the whole people.

"Social Objects of Progress.

"9th. *General Education for the Whole Population;* provided by *all* and carried out and enforced *by all,* with the least possible government interference.

"10th. The promotion of *Scientific Institutions—Schools for Adult Instruction*—and *Libraries* for general circulation among the whole population.

"11th. The *Promotion of Temperance, Sobriety, Cleanliness* and *Health* amongst all classes; and the securing of places of rational recreation for the people, *apart from intoxicating drinks.*

"12th. The devising means by which the working and middle classes may have *Comfortable Homes,* and be gradually enabled to become *Manufacturers, Traders,* or *Farmers,* on their own capital.

"13th. To labour for the *General Abolition of War, Slavery* and *Oppression,* and the promotion of *General Civilization* and *Christian Brotherhood* throughout the world.

"SKETCH OF THE GENERAL ORGANIZATION.

"That any number of individuals uniting, or already united, to promote any of the above objects, may become members of the Association of Progress by complying with the following conditions :—

"1. That they be united for one or more of the objects specified, and be *classified* (for purposes hereafter mentioned), *in classes of one hundred persons* in each class.

"2. That they individually subscribe 2d. each towards a general fund *weekly ;* the same to be collected by one of their own body, and paid into the District Bank of the Association.

"3. That they signify, by resolution, that any sum their class may secure by lot (or otherwise) shall not be divided, or applied otherwise than for *their declared object.*

"4. That they appoint one of their own members towards forming *a Committee for the district ;* such committee to see that the sums collected by the classes within the district are paid into the bank, as well as for promoting the objects of the Association within their respective districts.

"GENERAL COMMITTEE.

"That each District Committee appoint two members annually to form the *General Committee of the Association* ; such Committee to meet in London (or other large town alternately) for the division and application of the money thus raised, according to the rules agreed to ; as well as for promoting the general objects of the Association by all just and peaceful means.

"APPLICATION OF THE GENERAL FUND.

"That the fund so raised be annually divided by the General Committee into portions of £2000 ; such portions to be appropriated *by lot* (or any other approved means) among *the different classes of the Association,* and immediately handed over to those who may be so successful ; the same to be applied by them in promoting the declared objects without any further intervention.

"Such is a mere outline of the plan proposed. It will be seen that I have sought to include under the head of *Political* and *Social* Reform all those measures which are now advocated and contended for by different bodies, as well as others, which I deem desirable and necessary, before right, knowledge, and happiness, can be effected for our fellow-men.

"I have not thought it necessary to enter into the details of rules and regulations, as those can be best matured by such persons as may be disposed to form such an association.

"As, however, a mere outline of the plan is set forth, it may be necessary to explain that the chief object of classification *into hundreds* is for the appropriation of the fund raised; as well as to afford facilities for persons not included in any existing association to form part of such an Association of Progress. As, for instance, 100 men, known to each other, may unite for the purpose of building themselves comfortable habitations—for raising means to take a farm—to commence manufacturing or trading—or for any social or political object embraced by the Association; and in this manner may obtain £2000 capital to commence with, or forward their undertaking. Or if they are not successful *directly*, in a pecuniary sense, they will by their union be *indirectly* benefited *by the reforms they would unitedly be able to effect.*

"If in this manner the friends of progress were only combined to the extent of *one million*, that number paying 2d. each per week would raise money enough to give £2000 capital *to* 216 *different classes every year.*

"The mere pecuniary advantages, however, would be trifling, compared with the great and paramount object, A Union of all the Friends of Progress; all aiding each other in the spirit of Christian brotherhood, the better to accomplish the reforms they are anxious to effect; acting in concert for the promulgation of their respective views and objects; seeking to smooth down those contracted, prejudiced, and contentious feelings, which now so much impede the progress of reform; and uniting hearts and minds to remove the poverty, misery, and oppression

of their land, and to extend the blessings of peace, prosperity, knowledge and happiness among all the nations of the earth."

Being, as I said, very busily engaged at this period, as the publisher of *Howitt's Journal*, no other steps were taken by me beyond the putting forth of the proposal; but I still entertain the hope that the day is not distant when some such general organization of the friends of progress will take place.

In the year 1848, the year of revolutions and commotions; of frightened despots and elated and hopeful people; our Association issued the following "Address to the French":—

"Citizens of the French Republic,—As members of an Association formed for promoting the Political and Social Improvement of the Millions, we feel that we should be wanting to the great cause we have espoused, if we failed to extend our fraternal sympathies towards you at this important crisis; especially when more than sympathy is shown by many of the privileged of our country for the perjured despot you have recently scared from his throne —a man whose regal career has been a continuous warfare on human rights, and whose last effort to grind your liberties in the dust has made your streets flow with the blood of his victims.

"Abhorring such acts, we rejoice at his downfall—we conceive that a man so criminal should be left to the corrodings of his own conscience till repentance of his misdeeds shall have purified his heart, and caused him *to proclaim his own fallen example as a warning to the despots and oppressors of mankind;* to teach them the hollow foundation which courtiers and armies afford for the stability of thrones based on unrighteous power.

"But, fellow-men, while we rejoice in your victory, we deeply deplore the fate of the slain, and sympathize with the condition of the wounded; and we earnestly hope that your liberties will be consolidated, and that our liberty,

and that of the world's, will be speedily effected without any further effusion of human blood.

"For we would fain hope that this last great example you have exhibited to the world *will teach wisdom to its rulers*, and cause them to proclaim a new era for humanity; by liberalizing their institutions, and freeing their people, will prompt them to redeem the past by their future exertions to promote the improvement and happiness of their race; and, instead of relying on forts and armaments, and influences of corruption, to rely on the power and stability they can build up in the hearts and minds of a free people.

"But, whatever may be the course or disposition of *rulers*, the *people* of all countries have imperative duties to perform, in preparing themselves intellectually and morally, FOR THE COMING AGE OF FREEDOM, PEACE, AND BROTHERHOOD—an era when national jealousies shall be buried with the despotisms and privileges which have engendered them—when separate countries, brought nearer and nearer by the grand achievements of human inventions, cemented in friendship by ties of fraternity, freedom, and commerce, shall dispense with soldiers, armies, and wars; when nations bound in amity shall vie only in promoting happiness and refinement at home, and civilization abroad; and when every individual shall have learnt that his highest earthly duty is to labour for the happiness of others, with the same zeal as he would seek to promote his own.

"The privileged and the powerful may smile at these aspirations, having only seen humanity through the distorted medium their own oppressive laws and enslaving institutions have engendered; but we have faith to believe that in the heart of lowest vice, there are chords of sympathy that may be struck to raise the fallen victim up in all the majesty of God's great image. We judge from man's better nature, when quickened by instruction, matured by kindness, and inspired by freedom; and strong in our hopes we hail every effort tending to that great end, when our faith shall have become a reality.

"People of France! You have proclaimed your country a Republic, and your political object *freedom for all*. In

this your great resolve we are hopeful of the future, and hasten therefore to extend to you our sympathies. We respect your form of government; we cordially approve of your object; we have faith in the good men you have selected for consolidating your liberties; and our earnest prayer is that you may have the virtuous conduct of every French citizen to govern, guard, and guide your Republic to a successful and lasting issue—to the forming of a commonwealth, *strong* in the intelligence and morality of your people; *secure*, by pursuing a career of peaceful improvement; *beloved at home*, for the happiness you shall diffuse; and *respected abroad*, for the practical virtues you shall exhibit of the government of a true democracy.

"But amid our hopes and congratulations we would fain mingle our fraternal advice and respectful warnings; feeling that liberty is one, and the common cause of nations identical in the great brotherhood of man. Have faith, we implore you, in the righteousness of your object, and in the great and good men you have chosen for realizing its consummation.

"Respect the opinions of those who differ from you; abolish all jealousies and distrust of power, wealth, and influence; and, by peaceful, kind, and courteous conduct, resolve to convert even your enemies into friends. Trust more to your individual virtues than to your collected armies, for the consolidation and security of your Republic.

"Dignify honest labour, industy, temperance, and frugality, with national approbation; everywhere diffuse a knowledge of your political and social obligations; and make the instruction of your children your paramount object; for by so acting you will build up your liberties on a foundation, firm, lasting, and impregnable.

"Brethren of France! we also take this opportunity of assuring you that the millions of our country cherish no other feelings towards you than those of kindness and regard; and no other desire than to see our two countries cultivating a free and friendly intercourse, and heartily promoting the peace and civilization of the world.

"The hard-working, industrious millions of our brethren,

destitute of political right, overburthened by taxation, and deprived of their earnings for the benefit of idlers, are also desirous of obtaining *their* liberties, and trust that their moral energies will ere long enable them to achieve them. They are now earnestly watching every step in your progress, and hopefully believe that your future career will be a beacon to cheer them, and not a brand to deter. *Your success* will help their enfranchisement.

"That your onward course may be prudent and peaceful; that your Republic may be established by the united voices of France; and that the wisdom of your rulers and the virtues of your people may make it a glorious example to the nations of the world, is the sincere prayer of your English brethren, the members of the National Association."

This address was translated by our estimable friend Dr. Bowring—now Sir John Bowring—whose signature was attached to it, as one of our honorary members; he having generously come forward when the Association was first formed with a very handsome present of books for the library, and was otherwise a kind friend to the Association. The original document was engrossed and forwarded to the ambassador of the Republic in London, and a copy forwarded to M. de Lamartine, but the receipt of it was never acknowledged.

Unhappily the hopes which we cherished regarding the Republic of France were but short-lived; the selfish impatience of the middle classes, in refusing *temporary relief* to the working classes, whose labours had been suspended by the new order of things, led to excitement and disorder—the crude and startling proposals put forth by the Socialists and Communists regarding the rights of property caused all who had anything to lose to pray for despotism as the least of evils—the unseemly squabbles and daily contentions of the representatives of the people dispirited the hopeful and emboldened the daring—the fighting propensity of the Celtic race, their warlike idolatry, and the ignorance and superstition of the peasantry, were unhappily antagonistic to freedom—all these unitedly

prepared the way for priestly and imperial despotism to extinguish liberty with false and hypocritical representations, a drunken soldiery, and a river of human blood. Unhappy France! thrice gloriously to free herself from the bit and bridle of kingcraft and priestcraft, but her people not appreciating the blessings of Freedom, to thrice again submit their backs to the burthen, their mouths to the bridle, and their sides to the spur.

CHAPTER XVIII

In this year (1848) I cherish, with feelings of the warmest gratitude, the remembrance of a numerous company of kind friends, who assembled at the National Hall, to present to me a public testimonial, as a mark of their respect for my public services. The testimonial comprised a handsome silver tea-service, and a purse of one hundred and forty sovereigns. A very kind and warm-hearted Address, written by my esteemed friend Mr. William J. Fox, M.P. for Oldham, and signed on behalf of the subscribers by my earnest and sincere friends Mr. J. H. Parry as *chairman*, and Mr. J. F. Mollett as *secretary*, was likewise presented to me on the same occasion.* I estimate that

* "The testimonial this day presented to William Lovett is intended both as an expression of gratitude for public services, and of respect for private worth. The Subscribers rejoice to feel that they cannot distinguish between the Patriot and the Man; but find that the selfsame qualities of integrity, purity, firmness, zeal, and benevolence, which have secured to William Lovett the lasting attachment of those who know him, have also been the characteristics of his political career. Whether enduring the loss of his goods, for refusing to be coerced into military service; or that of his liberty, for protesting against the unconstitutional interference of the police with the people; whether founding the Working Men's Association, for the attainment of political rights, or the National Association, for the promotion of social improvement; whether embodying the principles of democracy, in the memorable document called the People's Charter, or shewing the means of redemption in his work, entitled *Chartism, a new Organization of the People;* whether cultivating, by instruction, the intellectual and moral nature of destitute children, or by numerous addresses from the above-named Associations recommending Peace, Temperance, Justice, Love, and Union, to erring multitudes and nations; in labours which will make themselves known, by their results, to posterity, or in unrecorded scenes of friendly and domestic intercourse, William Lovett has been ever the same; and may this memorial now presented to him serve as an assurance that the feelings of his friends, admirers, and fellow-

testimonial the more so, because I believe that the friends with whom it originated, as well as the subscribers generally, were prompted at that particular period by the purest and noblest feelings to extend their kindness towards me in the manner described.

Shortly after this event, our day school (so long postponed) was opened in the Hall; our generous friend, A. B., not only furnishing the desks, books, and apparatus required for the opening, but also the fixed salary of the schoolmaster. The introduction to our prospectus states that "the object in forming this school is to provide for the children of the middle and working classes a sound, secular, useful, and moral education—such as is best calculated to prepare them for the practical business of life—to cause them to understand and perform their duties as members of society—and to enable them to diffuse the greatest amount of happiness among their fellow-men." I may add that it is now upwards of nine years since our school was opened, during which time our kind friend A. B. has handsomely contributed towards its maintenance, without which assistance it could not, I believe, be kept open; the small payment of the children not being sufficient to pay the salaries of the teachers and assistants, together with the rent and out-goings of the place.

About this period I put forth a small pamphlet, entitled "Universal Suffrage in the Moon." The merits of this little work, however, I deem it necessary to state, I have no claims to, it having been written by a friend, who was desirous of its being published in my name, from the belief that it was more likely to be circulated among the

labourers in the cause of humanity are strong and unchanging, like the truth of his own character, public and private, by which those feelings have been produced.

"It is the fervent wish of the Subscribers that his future life may be long, happy, and successful, as his past has been true, honourable, and beneficent.

"Signed on behalf of the Subscribers,

"J. HUMFFREYS PARRY, Chairman.
"J. F. MOLLETT, Hon. Sec."

working classes; an idea, however, which was not realized.

The last political association I was actively connected with was the *People's League*, which originated in the following manner:—Soon after the outbreak of the French Revolution, in 1848, the members of the National Association were desirous that we should make another effort to unite the Radical Reformers of the United Kingdom in favour of the Charter. I was therefore requested by them to prepare an Address, such as I might deem likely to be promotive of that object. It having been suggested that such an Address was likely to be more effective if we could obtain the sanction of the members of the "National Alliance,"* and some of the leading reformers among the middle classes, such as Mr. Hume, Cobden, Miall, and others. I was requested to see some of these men and confer with them on the subject.

I accordingly drew up a brief proposal for the formation of a new political association, to be entitled the People's League, having the following objects:—

"1. To obtain the just and equal representation of the whole people, as set forth in the *People's Charter*, with such alterations or amendments in its details as may here after appear necessary.

"2. The *reduction of our National Expenditure* in every department of the State.

"3. *The repeal of all Customs and Excise Laws* and all *indirect* means of raising a revenue.

"4. The substitution of *a Direct Tax on Property*, in an increasing ratio upwards, according to its amount."

This proposal readily met with the support of the committee and secretary of the Alliance; but Messrs. Hume and Cobden, while they expressed themselves favourable to our views of reform, were fearful that the Middle Classes could not be got to unite in any plan for its attainment.

* This was a political association, with political objects similar to our own.

The chief point dwelt upon by both of them was, that O'Connor and his disciples had, by their folly and violence, made the name of *Chartist* distasteful to that class. Mr. Hume, however, being exceedingly anxious that something should be done at that crisis, requested me to leave the above proposal with him, as he wished to submit it for the consideration of some of his friends belonging to the "Free Trade Club." I did so, and when I called again he informed me that he had got about fifty of his friends to agree to certain resolutions in favour of Financial Reform and Household Suffrage. This not coming up to our views of reform, *our Proposal* was subsequently modified in the form of the following "Address to the Radical Reformers of the United Kingdom":—

"Fellow-Countrymen,—Desiring the peace, prosperity, and happiness of our country, we deem it our duty to address you at this eventful period, believing that correct views, just feelings, and *a cordial union among all classes of Reformers*, would be the most effective means of peacefully removing all unjust obstructions to our national prosperity; and would form the best security for the advancement of our people.

"But, in inviting your aid in the formation of such a union, we deem it necessary to declare that we are opposed to every description of outrage or violence, and that we have no feeling inimical to the present constitution of the realm. We only wish the Commons House to be a true representation of the industry, intellect, and good feelings *of the whole population*—that our reforms should be peacefully and justly effected—that the security of person and property should be maintained—that our trade, commerce, and enterprise should be justly extended—our brethren improved and educated—and that our country should progress *politically* and *socially* as the first among the nations of the world.

"We have faith also to believe that all this can be effected by *peaceful and moral effort;* as our combined industrial energies, our united capital, *our moral courage*, our *intelli-*

gence and *will* alone, give strength to our state, and constitute the only power of our rulers.

" But, judging from the legislative effects and burthens of the last few years, we have just cause for apprehending that the longer reform is delayed, in every department of the state, the more difficult will it be to effect it—the more destructive will be its results to the middle and working classes, and the greater will become the danger lest an impoverished and oppressed people overturn, in their frenzy, the accumulated wealth, power, and improvement of ages.

" For should our present system of privilege and corruption be prolonged, we may confidently predict that our *Manufacturers* and *Traders*, overburthened by taxation, cramped by monopolies, and fettered by exclusive laws, will, year after year, find it the more difficult to compete with less-burthened countries; and that their markets, being thus restricted, will afford less profits on labour and capital, and will cause less employment for our continually-increasing population.

" Our ingenious *Artizans* and industrious *Mechanics* and *Labourers*, compelled to strive with each other for such limited employment, would inevitably bring down their present inadequate wages to the subsistence point; and with that would speedily come the fast deterioration, the pauperizing and destruction of our country's hope and pride, her intelligent and industrious people.

" Our *Shop-keeping* and *Middle Classes*, chiefly dependent on the consumption of the industrious millions, would most assuredly sink with them; as, in addition to their loss of business and profits, they would have to sustain the burthen of that pauperism and misery such a state of things would engender.

" With an unemployed and impoverished people would come turbulence and disorder—for a people steeped in misery will not always listen to the dictates of prudence—and, to escape such a state of commotion, *the capital*, the enterprise, and the intellectual stamina of our country, would wing their way to other lands, as we have seen in the case of unhappy Ireland.

"But, fellow-countrymen, with all our apprehension of the future, we need not to point beyond present evils to afford abundant cause for awakening your sympathies and stimulating your benevolent resolves.

"Misery, starving wretchedness, and ill-requited toil have been proclaimed by our rulers to be the daily lot of millions of our working-class brethren. Over-burthening taxation, restricted trade, debts, bankruptcy, and insolvency, are making rapid inroads on the industrial energies and previous accumulations of our middle and upper classes; and yet, amid all this social deterioration, our rulers are adding burthen to burthen, and seem resolved to perpetuate them.

"The Commons House, which ought to be a true representation of the wants and wishes of the whole people, and composed of men whose aim and object it should be to reduce and keep down our present extravagant expenditure, and to determine how the mental, moral, and industrial energies of our people should be developed and extended, so as to add to the prosperity and happiness of all, seems but a mere instrument in the hands of our privileged orders for maintaining the monopolies, perpetuating their unjust powers, and taxing our population.

"For the present franchise, being so limited and unequally distributed, and the means of bribery and corruption so extensive, the legislative efforts of the few representatives of the people in that House are generally neutralized, or rendered hopeless, by the overwhelming power of aristocratic nominees, army, navy, and mere privileged representatives.

"Fellow-countrymen, the intellectual and moral energies of Reformers have for years been contending against this power of corruption. Thousands of lives have been sacrificed, and millions of money have been spent, in striving to make the House of Commons an instrument of progress —an organ for effecting the welfare of our country. To move every reluctant step it has grudgingly been compelled to take, a social tornado has been required; and, that subsiding, it has again sought to retrace its progress,

and to again build up and strengthen its oppressive powers.

"Believing, therefore, that the House of Commons must truly and justly represent the *whole people* before it can become effective for lessening our burthens, removing restrictions and monopolies, or for helping onward the intellectual, moral, and truly religious progress of our people, we invite the good and true among all classes to unite with us for the forming of a PEOPLE'S LEAGUE; the chief object of which shall be to obtain the equal and just representation *of the whole people*, as set forth in the *People's Charter*, with such alterations and amendments in its details as may appear necessary.

"But, in adopting the principles of this document, we deem it necessary to state, that we adopt it in the spirit of those with whom it originated, whose object it was to create and extend an enlightened public opinion in its favour, and to endeavour to unite all good men for peacefully obtaining its legislative enactment.

"At the same time, we repudiate, with all earnestness and sincerity, the violent language and mischievous conduct which selfish and unprincipled individuals have associated with that measure of political justice—persons who have sought to maintain their notoriety and to acquire an ascendancy over the multitude by lauding their vices and administering to their intolerant and persecuting spirit. By which malevolent conduct they have fostered and perpetuated divisions between the different classes of society, given support to oppression, delayed the cause of reform, and consequently prolonged the poverty and misery of the millions.

"Hopeful, however, that the time is now arrived for a union of all true Reformers, and having full faith that there is sufficient intelligence, moral energy, and true feeling among our countrymen for restraining all acts of violence and folly, and for peacefully effecting all those reforms necessary for the prosperity of our country, and the elevation and happiness of our people, we resolve to

attempt the formation of such a union, and invoke the blessing of Heaven for our success."

This Address, meeting with the approval of the Committee of the National Alliance, as well as of our own Association, was printed and sent forth to a great number of the leading Radicals of the country; accompanied with a circular (signed by a number of well-known Reformers) inviting them to attend a *friendly conference* on the subject, at Herbert's Hotel, Palace Yard, on the 3rd of May. The circular, however, had no sooner been issued than some of our leading friends, who had appended their signatures to it, began to raise doubts and state difficulties about the extent of the suffrage we had proposed in our Address; so that when the conference took place a considerable modification was made from our first proposal, and from what I and several of my friends, thought to be essential for the basis of a union calculated to call forth the spirit of the country. And what rendered it the more mortifying was, that the objections came from the ultra-Chartists, and not from the more moderate Reformers; our friend Vincent having been about the first to raise doubts and difficulties. The conference was, however, attended by about 300 persons; and, after much discussion, a resolution was agreed to in favour of *universal suffrage;* the subject of the People's Charter having been deferred till some future conference. In fact the resolution agreed to, forming the basis of the union, was a great falling-off from the basis of the Complete Suffrage Conference held at Birmingham in 1842; and the result turned out as I anticipated; we failed in securing the co-operation of the millions, and only received a lukewarm support from some few of the Middle-Class Reformers. The League, however, was formed, and some few hundreds joined it, among those myself; hopeful that it might grow in numbers and improve in principle. The plan of organization having been agreed to, the first object was to appoint a deputation to wait upon the leading members of the Free Trade Club to impress on them the superiority of *Universal* over *Household Suffrage* as a practical and conservative measure—the

gentlemen of the Club having recently declared in favour of the latter.

"An inaugural meeting was next called at the London Tavern on the 24th of May, for the purpose of submitting our views to a larger body of Reformers, Colonel Thompson having been appointed our chairman; but the O'Connorites —headed by Ernest Jones—having forged admission cards to a large extent, interrupted and broke up the meeting in disorder.

An Address, written by Mr. John Robertson, was next circulated to a wide extent, setting forth the defective state of the franchise, showing the steps taken by the League for its improvement, and invoking the people to join in a peaceful and powerful demand for their enfranchisement. A subsequent one, written by Mr. Thomas Beggs, was put forth by the Executive Committee, inviting attention to the object of the League, and calling for active sympathy and support. These, as well as a great number of private efforts, having failed to call forth the spirit of the country, and that pecuniary support necessary to meet the ordinary expenses of the League, caused the secession of a large number of the members of our Council in the following September; among whom were Dr. Price, Mr. Miall, Thomas Box, Charles Gilpin, Stafford Allen and others.

A number of us, however, indignant at the effort made by the Whigs at that time to stifle the reform movement, determined to keep together; to greatly economize our expenditure, and to use every means in our power to keep up the agitation for the suffrage. The Whigs, having effected a triumph over O'Connor and his boasting physical force followers by their blundering demonstration on the 10th of April, and having, moreover, exposed the frauds and fallacies in connection with the "Monster Petition" presented about that period, resolved to crush, if possible, the right of petitioning altogether. The Government had previously rendered the right of petition nearly a nullity, by preventing the members presenting them from explaining or supporting them; and now they thought to effec-

tually silence the public voice by raking up an old law of the Stuarts, which declares that political petitions shall not have more than *twenty signatures*. And this, be it remembered, was effected by *Whig Reformers*.

I ought to have stated before this, that the first secretary to the League was Mr. Robert Lowery; the second, my friend Mr. Thomas Beggs; but he having resigned, I was appointed their *Honorary Secretary*. Shortly after my appointment I was requested to prepare an "Address to the People of London," on the subject of petitioning for the suffrage in the form the Whigs allowed. The following is the Address agreed to :—

"Fellow-Citizens,—We live in a city distinguished for its wealth, enterprise and commerce, above most of the nations of the earth. Our public buildings are numerous and costly, and the mansions of our wealthy citizens vie in elegance and magnificence with those of princes. Our shops are gorgeous in the display of splendid and ingenious merchandise; our warehouses overflow with every description of productions; our freighted ships are seen on every sea; and in every part of the world our manufactured produce affords ample proofs of the industry and ingenuity of our untiring people.

"But what, fellow-citizens, has been the power that has most contributed to the raising up and supporting of this our wealthy and populous city? What was the power that chiefly sustained her in her numerous struggles against feudal freebooters, despotic kings, and grasping courtiers? What, but *the spirit of freedom*—that noble resolution to guard, at any sacrifice, the fruits of honest industry—that undaunted determination which so often aided *the right and protected the oppressed*, in the teeth of base rulers, furious chieftains, and armed retainers—and *that spirit, that power*, in proportion as it manfully resisted the attacks of despotism, or withstood the cajolery of kingly or aristocratic domination, made our city wealthy, and her citizens prosperous?

"And be assured, fellow-citizens, that in proportion as that spirit of freedom is allowed to decline among us, to

be usurped by open foe, or undermined by plausible pretensions, so assuredly will our trade languish, our power diminish, and that superstructure raised by the combined industry and freedom of our forefathers fall to ruin and decay. The concentrated rays of healthful activity, which serve to render a city prosperous, must beam upon it *from without;* but if the chill of poverty and oppression is once allowed to extinguish the outward sun, the warmth of city life will soon become exhausted. On the activity, the wages and consumption of the millions, the prosperity of our manufacturing and distributing classes depend; but on the profitable interchanges *of all* must our towns and cities rely for their prosperity.

"And are there no alarming symptoms now stirring, warning us both from within and from without—symptoms which should serve to recall the freedom and independence of the past, and awaken our apprehensions of the future? In our *social arrangements* is not a spirit of reckless gambling fast usurping the trade of honest, plodding industry? and a course of chicanery and fraud, ending in bankruptcy, becoming too frequent and too fashionable to be thought dishonourable? Are not the fearful and increasing evils of pauperism, vice, crime, and disease annually displayed in facts and figures, giving us dreadful warning of social disorder? Is not the gulf fast widening between the different classes of society? and have not the careless indifference, the hauteur and oppression of the rich too long left the poor a prey to their own misery and heartburning meditations? Are not the substantial realities and real pleasures of wealth—the means of promoting knowledge and rewarding goodness—fast being exchanged for the empty pride of distinction, or the ambition of a name?

"And, *politically*, are not the mass of our industrious people, the bound, padlocked, and plundered serfs of our aristocratic factions?—this coalition, this league of political despots and social spoilers, whom General Foy once described as 'a band of those who wish to consume without producing, live without working, occupy all public

places without being competent to fill them, and seize upon all honours without meriting them.' Is not the grasping and despotic power of this class, their annual drainings, their monopolies and exclusiveness, the searing blight which everywhere prevents industry from blossoming, and cankers commerce in its bud? Yet this is the class whose unrighteous power you are daily taught to uphold as necessary to your country's salvation! persons for whom places must be found, and taxes paid; for whose dominion armies must be raised, battles fought, spoils won, and men bleed;—and for all of which you, and your children, must not only toil and pay, but the labour of generations unborn must be mortgaged to give them cause for remembering this aristocratic race.

"Under the specious plea of upholding the Crown and dignity of England, the two aristocratic factions have gradually been undermining our institutions, and robbing us of the rights and liberties our forefathers wrested from their despotic progenitors. They have graspingly monopolized the best portion of our possessions at home and abroad, and have dexterously shifted every burthen from their own shoulders on to those of the people. They have made church, army, and navy, their especial property and instruments—have filled the people's house (for the most part) with the vassals of their will—have selfishly stripped royalty of its possessions, and (judging from their conduct) would fain usurp its power.

"Where, fellow-citizens, are these institutions our fathers once gloried in? All the great provisions of Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement, with numerous other constitutional privileges, have, one after another, been gradually undermined and nearly rendered a nullity by these two factions; who now, through their corrupt organs, call upon us to bless God for our invaluable political blessings! And this, too, at a time when they have nearly deprived us of our political rights—the right even of the criminal at the bar, the right of making our grievances known and our prayers for justice and redress public and notorious.

"In addressing you, fellow-citizens, we beg to assure you that we are no destructives, seeking to undermine society—to destroy our institutions—or to subvert the monarchy. But we deem it our duty to declare, that society is not safe while honest industry fails in procuring bread—that our institutions are in danger while the prison is sought for as an asylum—and that the monarchy has more to fear from the oppressive rule and grinding exactions of our aristocracy, than from those of their victims, whom despair and poverty have rendered desperate.

"The people of England are far from being changeful in their character; for even their turbulence oftener proceeds from justice outraged, or rights deferred, than from any anxious desire for other institutions. Their humble homes and kindred hearts are more entwined with their lives and aspirations than is seen among the mere roving exquisites of fashion, or lords of millions grasping still for more.

"As for the Monarch of England, she has more true hearts in huts and hovels than are found in court circles or lords' mansions. With the former she is respected as a monarch, and esteemed as a woman; and could she but contrast their honest feeling with that of those 'Ins and Outs' of place, profit and preferment that hover round her person, she would soon see on whom reliance could be placed if she ever needed protection. For recent examples are not wanting to convince her of the faithlessness of courtiers, and the insecurity of armies.

"But in thus declaring our opinions of aristocratic rule and dominion, we desire it to be understood that it is not *the men* but *the system* we condemn—it is not against their rank or possessions we so much complain, as against their oppressive and unjust power;—they, in fact, may be said to constitute 'The State.' For them England has warred, and is still warring against freedom at home and abroad—for their benefit and domination, and not for the support of the monarchy, are our present expensive establishments maintained—and by *their laws, their monopolies, their rule,* has England been pauperized, and her people enslaved.

"Need we remind you, fellow-citizens, that the organs of this class, taking advantage of the strife now waging on the Continent of Europe—between the despots who would bind and the victims who would escape their thraldom—are now seeking, by every perversion of fact and sophistry of argument, to alarm your fears and awaken your prejudices, the more easily to make you the instruments of your own slavery. They would fain make you believe that your social and political salvation are dependent on standing armies and aristocratic sway! and they sneeringly denounce all those who remind you that these have ever been the instruments of oppression in all ages; and that the warlike spirit they have engendered is the chief evil which continental liberty has now to cope with.

"Those who tell you that the freedom and happiness of England would be best promoted by endeavouring practically to carry out the great lessons of the Gospel, in seeking to promote peace, extend knowledge, and *do justice to all our brethren*, are made the scoff of those venal instruments, who do the bidding of our oppressors. The *landed aristocracy* of England, they would fain cause you to look up to as your hereditary fathers and best defenders; and would teach you to despise all those who by the industrial arts of trades and manufactures, and the peaceful intercourse of commerce, have scattered far and wide the blessings of knowledge, and enriched this land of oaks and acorns with the multifarious productions of the globe. Exceptions they would doubtlessly make, where accumulated wealth was necessary to enrich an empty title, or where intellectual greatness was willing to forswear the gifts of nature to become the willing puppets of *their order*, but even then the feudal pride would be manifest in the blending.

"Fellow-citizens, and you who make up the two million inhabitants of this great metropolis, it is for you to record your verdict against this social and political injustice; and, though humble ourselves, in all but earnestness of purpose, we implore you to do so by the remembrance of

the past, by the gloom and despair of the present, and by the hopes of a brighter future.

"It is evidently *your interest* as it is *ours*, to live in free and friendly intercourse with all nations; but our *aristocracy* are constantly fomenting fresh quarrels, devising new conquests, demanding more soldiers, and fresh sacrifices of our fellow-men.

"It is surely your desire,—as it is our own,—that our industrious people should be fully employed in raising productions to supply their famishing and destitute brethren at home, or to exchange for commodities which all classes desire from abroad; but our aristocracy, by their lavish expenditure in armies, navies, and in every department of the state, are continually abstracting from the productive energies of the country; and, by their monopolies and quarrels, have called forth a host of competitors, who are constantly limiting our exchanges with the nations of the world.

"It is your and our interest to retain in our own hands the largest amount of our own earnings; but our aristocracy demand by far the largest share to support them in their idle extravagancies, their expensive pomp, power and dominion.

"If, then, you would promote your own interest, and seek to diffuse the greatest amount of happiness among your fellow-men, you will join your voices and will add your exertions to those of others, in peacefully promoting such a reform in this country, and especially in the Commons House of Parliament, as shall prevent this grasping aristocracy from much longer impoverishing our country and degrading our people. This great work against a powerful and continually-increasing body is not to be effected *by partial or party measures;* the heart and soul of the kingdom must be enlisted in the struggle to secure such reform peacefully and effectively; and to do this the suffrage *must be personal—must be universal.*

"We need not here stop to define this measure, nor to afford additional arguments in favour of its justice. It is now notoriously understood as pertaining to every man of

full age and sound mind, having a fixed residence and untainted by crime. The *right of it* is founded on the great brotherhood of humanity, is based on the justice of all conventional arrangements, and is such as our moral and Christian codes inculcate and approve.

"While, however, we feel bound, by every principle of political morality, ardently to contend for the legislative enactment of this great right, we are most anxious to obtain it *peacefully* and *constitutionally*. But it behoves every lover of peace, order, and progress, to be prompt in the exercise of those means, as, year after year, our aristocratic factions are blocking up those constitutional channels through which our social grievances may be made known, or political reforms effected. Almost the last right left of us, *the right of petition*, has gradually been curtailed and restricted; and the legislative shearing of the last session has almost rendered it a nullity. But under this last constitutional rag the friends of peaceful political progress should speedily rally; lest, this, too, be struck down by some aristocratic fiat. And, poor and scanty as it is, such an act would be a matter of solemn moment, as there are fearful facts on record of evils occasioned by the stifling of the public voice, and by the blocking up all peaceful channels of constitutional redress.

"Believing, then, that multitudes in this great city are anxious to see our social and political wrongs redressed, and sufficiently imbued with the spirit of their forefathers to abide by this constitutional right of petitioning, we would respectfully urge them *still to get up petitions*, though they be '*limited to twenty signatures*,' according to the provision of the despotic law of the Stuarts, which has recently been raked from oblivion by our fair-promising, but liberty-hating Whigs.

"We, therefore, earnestly request that they will, in brief and clear language, record their opinions on the great question of *universal suffrage*, the only effective measure that can allay the increasing discontent of the millions—the only radical cure for those political corruptions and social burthens which exclusive legislation has generated,

and which our aristocratic rulers seem resolved to maintain.

"We will not call upon them to petition in this or that form, or for those points and details which we deem essential to make the suffrage effective. Let each petition be in accordance with the views of those who sign it; but let the occupant of every apartment, the inhabitant of every street—let each and all record their signatures upon this great and growing subject. A general expression of the feelings of the metropolis, couched in respectful language, and to every signature the address carefully appended, would be the best reply to those who proclaim the people's political satisfaction with things as they are, as well as the best rebuke to those who have driven us to such a mode of petitioning."

Several hundreds of these "Score Petitions," as they were called, were forwarded to us for presentation to Parliament; but the mass of the Chartist body, discouraged by the result of their different petitions to that House, seemed doggedly resolved to petition it no more, but to wait the chances of events, the conflict of parties, or the pressure of circumstances, for the attainment of that "justice" which their prayers and petitions had failed to secure for them. Thousands of the most enterprising and thoughtful among them—men who, by their industry, skill, and economy, had accumulated the means of emigration—shook from their feet the dust of their unjust and ungrateful country, and are now enriching other lands with their labours.

The tools of our aristocracy are often prone to talk of the bad feeling and ingratitude displayed by a large portion of the American people, as well as by many of our Colonists, towards the mother country; forgetting that these feelings had their origin in their own base ingratitude; they having refused to acknowledge (save as serfs and instruments) the men, who, by their skill and labour, had contributed to their country's greatness—men who, when ground down and forced from the homes of their fathers, with the bitter

remembrance of their past treatment, have very naturally stirred up hearts to sympathize with them, among those into whose ears they have told their tale of wrong.

I may here state that the People's League lingered on, without being able to do anything very effective, till September, 1849, when it was dissolved, since which time I have chiefly devoted my energies to Education.

Some efforts, however, having been made in this year, by a portion of Middle-Class Reformers, in favour of Household Suffrage, induced me *individually* to put forth an appeal to them on this question, entitled "Justice safer than Expediency." In this I endeavoured to show that justice was likely to be compromised, and misery and discontent prolonged by the course they seemed disposed to adopt; and that it was an expedient as foolish as it was unjust to give the right of suffrage *to the tenement* and *not to the man*. That while Household Suffrage *would embrace the ignorance* that might be found in cot and hovel, *it would exclude the intelligence* of clerks, mechanics, and professional men who live in lodgings, and single men who live at home with their friends. That it would also carry with it the thousand legal quibbles of house, tenement, land, rating, and taxing which have rendered the Reform Bill a nullity; and which have wasted a countless amount of time and money in the vain attempt to unravel their legal and technical mysteries. And that they might be assured that the adoption of a Household Suffrage would not settle the great question of representative right; for the excluded class would keep up and prolong the agitation, and be more and more clamorous as the injustice towards them would be the more apparent.

CHAPTER XIX

In this same year I published in *Howitt's Journal* an "Address to the People of the United Kingdom on the State and Condition of Ireland." * The following extracts will convey its character :—

"Fellow-Countrymen,—We presume to address you on this important subject because we conceive that we have, 'each and all,' a common interest in all that concerns our country or our race ; and because we believe that we shall all be wanting in our moral and political duties if we remain apathetic when starvation and misery abound, or keep silent when *justice* is withheld, or *wrong* about to be perpetrated on any portion of our brethren.

"And, without undervaluing the exertions that have recently been made to mitigate the wretchedness of Ireland—and feeling a deep interest in the warm and generous sympathy that from the hearths and homes of England has been extended to relieve the starving people of that country —we, nevertheless, believe *that justice is about to be withheld, and wrong perpetrated* towards the millions in both countries, *unless the voice of England shall unite with that of Ireland in a demand for Justice, and not Charity.*

"Fellow-Countrymen,—We have no desire to lacerate your feelings with the horrible details of starvation, outrage, and revenge, which years of oppression have engendered, and famine and despair recently aggravated ; but we would direct your attention to the necessity that exists for your thoughtful enquiry and earnest resolve, so as to prevent, if possible, an annual recurrence of this unparalleled misery.

* This was the year of the famine.

"You have seen that our rulers, instead of providing effective remedies to prevent a recurrence of these evils, are content in administering mere palliatives or doles of charity, which are to be extracted from the industrial energies of *the many* to support the unjust privileges of *the few*. An additional burthen of eight millions is to be placed upon the back of industry—the blight of heaven—producing starvation to thousands—is to be made a pretence for improving the fortunes of absentee idlers, and maintaining domestic spoilers in their unjust possessions—the canker is still to be left to prey upon the heart of Ireland—English industry must continue to bear the burthens the disease engenders, and Parliament must again, session after session, be engaged in the old routine of *coercion* or *delusion* for Ireland.

"Seeing, then, this system of injustice, and having so long felt its baneful results, is it not high time to demand from our rulers that those annual legislative tinkerings for the evils of Ireland shall speedily be put an end to, by a measure that shall at once be just and comprehensive?—a reform aiming at *the elevation and enlightenment of the people, and the prosperity and happiness of the country*, instead of permitting *the unjust privileges of individuals* to stand in the way of all just reformation, and to retard the improvement *of a nation*.

"The *causes* which have produced, and which serve to perpetuate destitution, periodical famine, and misery in Ireland, and *the means that can be devised for the improvement of that portion of our brethren*, are questions in the solution of which all are interested, physically and morally, from the poorest labourer in the kingdom, whose scanty wages are dependant on the causes which bring competitors from Ireland, to the possessors of wealth and affluence, whose capital is often wasted or rendered profitless by reason of the wrongs inflicted on that unhappy country.

"Forming, therefore, a portion of those interested in the peace and prosperity of our Irish brethren, and urged by a sense of duty to endeavour to stimulate your enquiries and active interference in their behalf, we respectfully

submit for your consideration *what we conceive to be the causes* which have mainly contributed to the deplorable condition of that country, and at the same time to suggest *such remedies* as we conceive would greatly mitigate the misery of the people, and form the means of gradually elevating their social condition.

"The primary cause of most of the evils which afflict Ireland, we humbly conceive can be traced to the legislative and executive power having hitherto been vested in the *few* instead of the *many*, those few having legislated for, and governed Ireland for their own individual interests and aggrandisement, instead of seeking to improve the country and elevate her population.

"That by virtue of this unjust power the few have gone on gradually extracting the wealth and productive capital of the country—too often to spend out of it, in supporting their extravagancies and debaucheries—till they have beggared and pauperized the greatest portion of the people.

"That these evils have been greatly augmented by *the Established Church of Ireland*, to support which the people have been unjustly taxed and cruelly treated; and which Church has only served to perpetuate religious feuds and animosities, instead of uniting the people in the bonds of charity and human brotherhood.

"This state of destitution, misery, and religious antagonism, has naturally engendered strife, violence, and frequent commotion; to subdue which Ireland has been still further drained and coerced, till she is nearly converted into one great arsenal of soldiers and policemen.

"That this turbulent state of things has gradually driven out *the trade and commerce of Ireland*, nearly annihilated *her manufacturing and trading classes*, and left few others than victims and their oppressors.

"That instead of the resources afforded by trade and commerce to employ her continually-increasing population, the greater portion of them have been *thrown back upon the soil*, for their miserable subsistence of potatoes which has increased the competition for land to a degree to which no other country affords a parallel.

"That this rife competition has been greatly augmented, and the evil extended by the present rent and profit-grinding system; with its land-agents, underletting, minute divisions, and short and uncertain tenures; which in their operation prevent farming from being carried on successfully, so as to employ labourers at decent wages, or to increase the capital of the country.

"That this struggle for a subsistence out of the soil has placed the millions of Ireland, both farmers and cotters, in a state of wretched dependence on their landlords, too many of whom are regardless of every principle of humanity and justice; and who, when the people are likely to become burthensome or troublesome, scruple not to turn them out upon the world to starve and die.

"That these conjoint evils have depressed the energies of the people, and paralysed the hand of improvement, which, joined to the neglect of education, have fostered feelings of enmity between the two countries, when sympathy and union are essential for the progress and emancipation of both.

"Fellow-countrymen, we have thus endeavoured to trace some of *the prominent causes* which we think have produced the present misery of Ireland; but whether we have traced them correctly or not that misery exists, and is such as demands prompt and efficient redress. The evil of a destitute and famishing people maddened by oppression, and filled with despair, is not to be depicted in all its naked hideousness; but our imaginations may form some conception of the mental and physical wretchedness that must be concealed, in secret and in sorrow, from the soul-harrowing records which have recently been proclaimed through a thousand channels.

"In venturing, fellow-countrymen, to suggest such *remedies* as we deem necessary in the present state of Ireland, we do not conceal from ourselves the difficulties which stand in the way of such being rendered effective, nor do we expect to escape censure for presuming on a task which has perplexed abler heads. But we put forth our suggestion in the hope of leading you to the investiga-

tion of the subject, so that, ere long, still more effective measures may be devised, and your combined efforts force them on the attention of our rulers, as being far better means for securing the peace of Ireland than wretched Charities or Coercion Bills; for it is to you, the industrious millions, that the people of Ireland must ultimately look for redress, and not to political parties or class interests.

"The remedies we conceive should embrace:—

"*First*, means to provide for the pressing and immediate wants of the destitute, the aged, and infirm.

"*Secondly*, means to check the deteriorating process, by which farmers are converted into cotters, and cotters eventually turned out of their wretched holdings, to become mendicants or starve.

"*Thirdly*, to open up other sources of employment than that of the present wretched system of agriculture, so as to prevent those contentions and crimes, which have their origin for the most part in the present competition for land.

"*Fourthly*, to remove the chief cause of religious strife and contention, and provide for the general education and improvement of the people.

"To provide for the pressing wants of the people, the landowners of Ireland, we respectfully conceive, should at once be made responsible to the claims of justice, *by the enactment of a just and comprehensive Poor Law;* a law by which their property should be directly taxed to meet the wants and necessities of their respective districts; and which law should be administered in a humane and just spirit, instead of being made exclusive and degrading.

"To improve the present state of agriculture in Ireland, and to give the farmer some reasonable chance of increasing his capital, *some legal enactment is necessary to do away with the present sub-letting system, and its deteriorating evils; and to compel landlords to grant leases of not less than fourteen years, free from all unreasonable restrictions, and at the same time to secure for the tenant at the end of his term a fair equivalent for what improvement he may have made on his farm.*

" To provide for great numbers now dependent on casual labour, and often in extreme destitution, the waste and unreclaimed lands of Ireland, amounting to upwards of 5,000,000 of acres, now nearly profitless to the owners, and injurious to the country, should be appropriated by Government, and improved and applied by them to meet the wants of the people.

" That the superfluous, wealthy, Established Church of Ireland—a lasting source of national contention—should be removed, its existence being as unjust in principle as its tithe gleanings and merciless exactions have been anti-religious and criminal in practice, and its land and revenues, producing an annual income of nearly £2,000,000, should be applied to the improvement of the country, leaving only a suitable income to each clergyman where there are actual congregations.

" That the property and income tax should be extended to Ireland, and the revenue raised from that, and the sources referred to, be applied for the next ten years at least to the reclaiming of waste lands, the making of improved roads, the establishing of mines and fisheries, the improvement of harbours, the erecting of schools, and for promoting other national improvements.

" That the reclamation of the waste lands and all other national improvements should, in our opinion, be placed under the superintendence and direction of a General Board in Dublin, and as many district boards as may be found necessary throughout Ireland: such boards to be appointed by Government, and composed *of such competent persons as have the confidence of the Irish people,* without reference to their creeds, class, or political opinions.

" In putting forth the suggestions we shall probably be reminded of our proposed interference with ' the rights of property.' We may be told that a Poor Law to relieve the destitution of Ireland, would swallow up the landed revenues of that country; that an appropriation of the waste lands of that country would be a monstrous and unjust confiscation; and that the lands and revenues

of the Established Church should be held as sacred and inviolable as any other property in the kingdom.

"To all such assertions we would reply, that all property originating in conventional arrangements, and founded on *public utility*, must be ever tested by that standard; and when the wants of starving millions, and the luxuries of a selfish few, are so tried and tested, justice and humanity will find little difficulty in settling the question. And as the rich and powerful have hitherto found, in their legislative appropriations of waste and common lands, no very formidable obstacle *in the claims of the poor man to his share and property in the village green or common*, we can discover no just obstacle in the way of legally appropriating the waste lands of Ireland to relieve her famishing people. And as to the property of the Irish Church, that too, must yield to the claims of utility and justice. It had its origin in cunning, fraud, and force; it has changed its possessors with the opinions of the times, or the power of rulers, and it must speedily yield its unjust accumulations to the better fulfilment of its mission; that of '*relieving the poor and binding up the broken-hearted.*'

"In our proposals we have suggested that for the next ten years the revenue raised from the sources referred to, should be solely devoted to the improvement of Ireland, and applied under the direction of those who possess the confidence of the people, who, having means at their disposal, would doubtlessly seek to call forth new energies and improved habits among their present forlorn and destitute countrymen. Such an arrangement, we believe, would not only be advantageous to Ireland, but to the people of this country also; for the people of Ireland, on perceiving a just and comprehensive plan of reform being carried out under the direction of their friends and advisers, would, we believe, cordially co-operate with the Government to render it effective; so that our labour market would soon have fewer competitors, our present expensive establishment of soldiers and police for the ruling of Ireland might be dispensed with, and all classes peacefully bent on the improvement of their country, would soon

cause capital, trades, and manufactures to take root there ; which, with extended education and increased freedom, would speedily spread peace and happiness where contention, misery, and desolation dwell."

Since this was written many of the suggestions contained in it have been carried into effect, with many benefits resulting from them. Other benficial reforms would doubtlessly have taken place, but for the impractical projects of Irish politicians, directing people's minds away from real grievances, to such projects as a Repeal of the Union, Fenianism, Home Rule, etc. The Home Rulers, however, have one special grievance to complain of, in common with the people of England, Scotland, and Wales—that of the great difficulty of having local matters, readily attended to by the General Parliament. This grievance I think, ought to be at once redressed, and that by having the kingdom divided into districts, to each of which should be referred for legislation all local matters pertaining to the district. The General Act of Parliament, for establishing such kind of Home Rule, should, however, carefully name the various subjects of which these district legislatures should take cognizance ; taking care that no locality should have it in its power to restrict public liberty, or the right of public meeting, speaking, writing, or printing, nor meddle with the rights of property, nor interfere with religious liberty, and the right of conscience, nor have power to interfere with the education of the people, other than Parliament prescribes—all such subjects, and many more, should be matters of legislation and control by the whole Kingdom through the General Parliament.

Stopping at Birmingham for a few days in this year with my kind and amiable friends Mr. and Mrs. Goodrick—he being now Alderman and Justice of the Peace—whose cordial hospitality, and warm and generous friendship, for a great number of years I shall ever remember with feelings of gratitude, my attention was directed to some peculiar doctrines on the "Peace Movement," in a peri-

odical entitled the *Family Herald*.* As one of the advocates of that important movement—conceiving it to be, not a sectarian, a party, or merely a national question, but a question of universal humanity, embracing all nations, yet existing on the earth, and concerning all that are yet to be—I deemed it my duty to reply to it as I best could. A note, however, by the editor, expressing his wish to steer clear of controversy, determined my friend George Goodrick to get it printed in a pamphlet form. It was entitled "The Peace Principle—the Great Agent of Social and Political Progress." It being of a controversial character, I shall refrain from making any quotations from it. From a kind letter which I received from Mr. George Combe respecting it, I think it well to extract the following as evidencing the philanthropic, and hopeful disposition of the man :—

"But the prevalent religious creeds do not recognize man's moral character with sufficient force and faith to give the religious members of the community confidence to act on it as a natural truth. Hence we have armies with Christian chaplains going to battle in the name of God, not in defence of their own soil, which would be justifiable, but to conquer nations half the globe distant, and the public at home applaud their achievements. There is no remedy for this, that I see, but to preach and teach the true nature of man and his relations to the physical creation and to God ; and when these are understood soldiers will be disbanded and ships of war discontinued, as no longer necessary. It appears to most people utopian to expect such a day to arrive ; but so did your ancestors and mine think it utopian to imagine that a day would ever come when the walls of Carlisle and Berwick-upon-Tweed might be dismantled, and Englishman not fear Scot nor Scot fear Englishman, and yet *we have lived to see that day*. What has been practicable between England and Scotland, is perfectly practicable between England

* Mr. Cobden first pointed this out to Mr. Joseph Sturge, and he wished me to write an answer to it.

and France, and so with all other nations, whenever they have experience, as the English and Scotch have, how much more it is for their interest and moral welfare to live in peace than to fight. But all this is your own doctrine," etc.

It will now be necessary to mention, that on my resignation of the secretaryship of the National Association in 1846, its business was carried on for a short time by a Sub-Committee, and eventually by my friend Mr. Neesom, who was subsequently appointed Secretary. The Secretary and General Committee, having however, experienced great difficulty in carrying on the business by reason of the large sum of £434 then owing by the Association, being under the necessity of frequently subscribing sums of money out of their own pockets to meet pressing difficulties ; resolved in April, 1849, on advising the members to transfer the hall to the trustees, who were legally responsible for rent, taxes, and other outgoings. This proposition having been adopted by the members, and there being no other alternative than that of carrying it on, or giving it up to our landlords ; I was requested, on the part of the then trustees, to undertake its future management. The large debt was a serious difficulty in the way at first ; but with the help of my testimonial money, already referred to, and by the aid and assistance of Messrs. Mollett, Neesom, King, McKenzie, and other kind friends, the difficulty was lessened year after year, and has been long surmounted.

For the first eighteen months of the establishment of our school I could not devote much time to its superintendence, being employed, as I have stated, in the service of Mr. Howitt. As soon, however, as I was at liberty, I applied myself to the task of making it as efficient as possible, by the introduction of such subjects as I conceived indispensable to a good school. The subject of *Social Science*, or "the science of human well-being," my kind friend, Mr. William Ellis (the founder of the Birkbeck Schools), kindly undertook to introduce into our school, in

connection with several others in which he gave lessons on this very important subject. I may here state, that my acquaintance with this clear-headed and kind-hearted man, formed a new epoch in my life—for my attendance at his various lectures, and the many interesting conversations I had with him, gradually dispersed many of my social illusions, and opened my mind to the great importance of this science, as forming the chief and secure basis of morality, of individual prosperity, and national happiness. In fact, the little knowledge I was thus enabled to glean regarding social science, was the means of enabling me to concentrate and apply my previous knowledge in a manner I could never otherwise have done. I may further state, that few persons have done more for promoting a sound, useful education among our people than this earnest good man; not only by building and supporting a great number of schools, but in writing many admirable school-books, and by personally teaching in various schools the important subject of social science, or human well-being. To him, in fact, is due the high honour of first introducing the teaching of this important subject in our common schools, and in simplifying what at one time was considered a very abstruse subject, so that children can readily comprehend it. It is, however, to be greatly regretted that this important subject is not yet generally taught, and until it is made a most necessary part of education, I fear society will have to pay the penalty of this neglect, in the social wrecks so many of our people become. For, being turned out of their schools without any notion of the conditions to be fulfilled for securing *well-being*, nor any knowledge of the duties they owe to society, social or political, we need not wonder at the ignorant blunders so many of them make. In most of the schools, however, established by Mr. Ellis—and known mostly as the Birkbeck Schools—this important subject is taught, as well as a knowledge of their own nature and the laws of health; a knowledge also of the existences around them; and a large amount of elementary science—in fact an education that will cause them to remember with gratitude the lessons

received at school. I may here name a few schools, which I can remember, built, or supported, by Mr. Ellis, though it is difficult to give a complete list, as many of his good deeds in this particular are known only by himself. The first established—after our own—were the schools at the Mechanics' Institute, formerly conducted by Mr. John Runtz. Another one near the Hall of Science, City Road, formerly conducted by Mr. Cave. One at Cambridge Road, Mile End, under the management of Mr. Pike. Another fine school built by him at Kingsland, conducted by Mr. James Runtz. Other fine schools built by him in Peckham Fields, under the management of Mr. Shields. Another built by him in Gospel Oak Field, conducted by Mr. Teither. Another established in Westminster, under the direction of Mr. Runtz. In addition to these, he has given thousands towards building or supporting other schools, under the control of others.

Conceiving all education to be defective which did not seek to impart to children some knowledge of their own physical, mental, and moral nature, I was desirous of having the subjects of *Elementary Anatomy* and *Physiology* taught in our schools; but not being able to succeed in getting either of the masters I had engaged to prepare themselves for teaching these important subjects, I resolved to set about the work myself. Not having had much school instruction, and having devoted myself, for the most part, to political and social matters, I found the task of qualifying myself to teach those difficult subjects by no means an easy one. I had just read sufficient to perceive the great importance of physiology, but had little or no idea of it scientifically when I began. The first work I got hold of on the subject was an old copy of "South's Dissector's Manual," which, with its technical phraseology and long Latin names, puzzled me exceedingly—for of Latin I knew nothing. It at first gave me the headache and the heartache, and I almost began to despair of even understanding the subject, much less of being able to teach it. I persevered in my task, however, day after day, and gradually obtaining a little mental

light regarding its perplexities, I began at last to take a pleasure in my work. Subsequently I obtained the loan of other works more easily to be understood, and having eventually prepared a set of brief lessons, such as I thought I should be able to make children understand, I set about devising such diagrams as I thought essential to make a beginning. I was fortunate in meeting with Mr. Tuson, at that time draughtsman of the University College, and having explained to him, and given him rough sketches of what I wanted, he drew for me my first set of diagrams. Having formed a class of boys, and another of girls, I commenced my teaching, and was gratified as I proceeded to find that even the youngest in the class took an interest in the lessons, and very readily mastered the rather difficult names of the bones, muscles, etc. When I had taken my young ones through their first course, I was greatly encouraged to persevere in my work by Mr. George Combe, of Edinburgh, who, in hearing me give a lesson to my class of girls, was pleased to make some very complimentary observations respecting their knowledge of the subject. At the suggestion, also, of Mr. Ellis, and at the request of three of the masters of the Birkbeck Schools, I formed classes for teaching elementary anatomy and physiology in those schools ; and subsequently opened a class at our hall for giving what information I could on the subject to the teachers and assistants belonging to them. Having so far progressed, I thought it might aid others who might be disposed to teach these important subjects, and be the means of introducing them into other schools, if I printed the lessons I had prepared, accompanied by coloured drawings of the diagrams I had used. This idea induced me to write a more *advanced series of lessons* to print with them, in addition to others on diet, intoxicating drinks, tobacco, and disease. When I had prepared them, I thought it advisable to have the opinion of some experienced physiologist regarding them before I ventured their appearance in print. I accordingly wrote a note to Dr. Elliotson (who had manifested great kindness towards me on several previous occasions),

informing him of what I had written, and requesting him to favour me by his perusal of it. He very kindly undertook to do this, and was pleased to express his warm approbation of my performance, at the same time correcting some few inaccuracies I had made. The work thus prepared, entitled, "Elementary Anatomy and Physiology, for Schools and Private Instruction," is now nearly through its second edition; * has been favourably reviewed by the press, and has found its way, as a text-book, into many schools. Among them I may name the Herriot Hospital Schools of Edinburgh, the directors of which kindly sent me a vote of thanks for the use of my diagrams for illustrating Dr. Hodgson's very able lectures on the subject given to the pupils and teachers of that institution. Since, also, I commenced the teaching of those two sciences to the children of our own and the Birkbeck Schools, those subjects have been introduced into the boys' school of the London University, and the subject has recently been taken up by the Directors of the School of Design, who have published a set of large diagrams, prepared by Mr. Marshall, for illustrating them.

In May, 1849, I was examined before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the question of establishing "Public Libraries for the People"; a subject first submitted for the consideration of the House by Mr. William Ewart. I need scarcely state that my evidence was in favour of this laudable object; and among other means which I suggested for the improvement of the people was that of opening our Museums and Galleries of Art and Science on Sundays.

In March, 1850, I was invited by the Bishop of Oxford, and Mr. Henry Cole, to form one of the "Working Class Committee of the Great Exhibition." My time being fully occupied with my physiological teaching, as before described, I was unwilling at first to accept of a situation, the duties of which I might not be able to attend to. But having expressed myself warmly in favour of the Exhibition, the Secretary requested that I would allow my

* A third is prepared, but I have no means of printing it.

name to be appended to the list, although I might not be able to give as much attendance as I could wish. With that understanding I formed one of a Committee of five and twenty, consisting of persons of all creeds, classes, and opinions; among whom were Lord Ashley, Chas. Dickens, W. M. Thackery, Rev. J. Cumming, Chas. Gilpin, Sir J. Walmsley, Hy. Vincent, Thos. Beggs, Robt. Chambers and other well-known personages. The objects which this Committee were called together for were the following:—

1st. To take means for informing the Working Classes throughout the United Kingdom of the nature and objects of the Exhibition.

2nd. To assist in promoting the visits of the Working Classes to the Exhibition.

3rd. To ascertain what means exist for accommodating the Working Classes in the metropolis during their stay, and to publish the information accordingly.

These objects, which would have entailed on the Committee a large amount of labour, could not be carried out without money, which it was suggested should come out of the *General Fund*, our Committee to be considered a Branch of the General Committee for these specific objects; for we thought it unwise to appeal to the country for funds for this particular purpose, and the more so unless we had authority so to act. It would seem, however, that there was some aristocratic prejudice, on the part of some of the General Committee, against acknowledging us as a branch or part of their fraternity; which, being taken in dudgeon by some of us, caused us to vote for our own dissolution; the motion being proposed, as far as I can remember, by Mr. Chas. Dickens.

The second schoolmaster, whom I had engaged for our school, having resigned his situation for another business in 1851, and I finding it difficult to get another *trained teacher*, on account of the school being a secular one, I resolved—(having now acquired some little experience in teaching)—to undertake the management of the school myself, with the aid of an assistant-master. The school, being a large one, entailed on me much mental and phy-

sical labour ; the more so, as I had not only to devote myself to the acquisition of new branches of knowledge, but to digest and simplify that knowledge as much as possible, in order that it might be understood by the children. Liking the work, I entered upon it with some little enthusiasm ; and, if I might judge from the satisfaction expressed by parents, and the increased numbers of the school, I believe I gave satisfaction. Unfortunately, however, my bodily strength did not keep pace with my mental effort ; for fits of illness frequently interrupted my labours during the time I conducted it. I may also add, that of all the kinds of labour I have undertaken, physical and mental, that of teaching I have found the most wearing to the system.

I may here state that in addition to the elements of such sciences as I was able to teach in my school, I introduced a mode of teaching *spelling*, that I think might be useful in most schools ; and that is the teaching of it *as a game and amusement*—by means of small cards, with two words on each, and graduated according to the class—instead of teaching it as an irksome and disagreeable *task*, as it was in my boyhood.

In 1852 my poor old mother died at the age of 74, she having laboured and toiled hard up to within a few weeks of her death. She had buried her husband—a miner—some few years before, by whom she had two sons, John and Thomas, both living ; the former a shopkeeper, and also in a small way of business as carpenter and wheelwright, at Fraddam, near Hayle ; and the latter, a builder and surveyor, at Penzance. They are both married, and have families ; and are both intelligent and industrious men. I need scarcely say that it gave my poor mother great satisfaction to be surrounded by her three sons in her dying moments ; for I was fortunate enough to arrive about two days before her death. Although dead, poor woman, she yet lives in the memory of her children as the best and kindest of mothers ; and, I believe, in that of her neighbours as one who was ever ready with acts of kindness and words of cheering consolation. Soon after my return from Cornwall I was laid up with a severe attack of bronchitis,

having taken a severe cold on my journey back. The prevalence of the east wind and cold weather having prevented me, with my weak lungs, from going out of doors during a period of three months, I availed myself of this leisure time to finish a little work I had commenced some years before, on "Social and Political Morality." I had long conceived the idea that there were *moral principles* (apart from those enjoined by religion) which formed the basis of our social and political arrangements; although I had not a very clear notion of those principles, and of the reasons by which they were to be enforced, till I had acquired some knowledge of *Social Economy*. Having by that study satisfied myself, that national liberty, social prosperity, and individual happiness, have their origin, security and stability, *in the morals of our population*, I thought I might be the means of directing some portion of my fellow countrymen to the study and practice of this important subject, if I put it before them in a clear and intelligible form. It was with this hope that I commenced my labours, which I occasionally pursued from time to time when leisure served me, till the time of my confinement from illness, when I made an effort to complete my work. This little book was published in 1853, and I may here add that, while I have every reason to be satisfied with the manner in which it was spoken of by the press, by Mr. Cobden, Mr. Hume, Mr. Fox, and others, I regret to say that it was not circulated so as to effect the object aimed at.

About this period, too, I have to record a debt of gratitude, which I owe to my respected friend Mr. Thomas Beggs, and a few other friends, who were kind enough to raise £70 to pay up an insurance of £100, which I had commenced some time previous, in the Temperance Provident Institution, so as to afford some little aid to my wife should I die before her. This kindness I cherish with grateful feelings, for my prospects then were not very favourable.

Beyond the daily routine of my school, and the many difficulties and annoyances I met with in the carrying on of the hall in Holborn, I have very little to say of my

proceedings for the next two years. In 1856, however, when the lamentable disasters and loss of life in our war with Russia, owing to *incompetent management*, had induced the public to believe that some system of examination was necessary in the appointment of persons to office, I thought they did not carry back their principle of examination far enough. I therefore drew up the following Petition to the House of Commons which Mr. Roebuck presented for me. The idea, however, of such self-exalted personages as legislators, being brought to the same test of examination as "puir folk" for the Civil Service very much excited the risibility of some of them. But after all their laughter it is very probable that, in our progress to perfection, "to this complexion must they come at last"; for the rising generation are not likely to be always contented with the wasteful and blundering management of aristocratical fledglings; with the law-making of interested cliques; or with the shortcomings of those who have only their money-bags to bribe their way to place and power.

"*A Higher Intellectual and Moral Standard for Members of Parliament.*

"To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament Assembled. The petition of William Lovett of 16, South Row, New Road, London, humbly sheweth—

"That your Petitioner is one among a large number of his countrymen who believe that your Honourable House is exclusively and unjustly appointed by a select and trifling number of electors, compared with those who ought in right and justice, to have (through their representative) a voice and vote in the enactment of the laws they are called upon to obey, and in the expenditure of that revenue to which they contribute their part.

"That in the opinion of your Petitioner this restricted mode of election, coupled with the inefficient qualification for membership, have caused the Commons House to be,

in a great measure, composed of the representatives of parties and factions; of persons whose interests in too many instances have been opposed to the general welfare and prosperity of England.

"That in the neglect of their public duty, or in the pursuit of their own interests, they have, Session after Session, allowed their country to be governed by the two aristocratic parties of Whigs and Tories, whose incompetent and selfish administration, in various departments, has within the last few years led to a lamentable sacrifice of human life, and to a wanton and lavish expenditure of the resources of the nation.

"That the chief and prominent cause of so lamentable a neglect of public duty is evidently to be traced to the want of some higher standard of intelligence, information and morals, for those who are chosen to make the laws and rule the destinies of our country, than that which now prevails, for (with a few honourable exceptions) the possession of wealth, party interests, title, and privilege, are the only qualifications thought of.

"That in order to redeem the folly of the past by a wiser future, it is necessary that means be at once adopted through the instrumentality of which the future legislators and rulers of our country may be properly prepared and qualified for their important duties, so that the wisest and best of our countrymen may be chosen to govern and direct us; and by which the titled pedant, the purse-proud, ambitious, and the selfish deceiver of the multitude may be prevented from being placed in a position to waste their country's means, and to retard its prosperity, enlightenment, freedom, and happiness.

"That for the better instruction of the Legislators and rulers of England, and for a more conscientious discharge of their duties, it is necessary that the *property qualification* for Members of Parliament be at once abolished, and *an intellectual and moral standard* substituted instead thereof; as intellectual and moral fitness for the proper performance of legislative and administrative duties are of far greater importance than any property considerations.

"That, as a means of eventually securing persons intellectually and morally qualified to become the Legislators and rulers of England, it is necessary that the intellectual and moral requisites for these important offices should be publicly set forth in an Act of Parliament, and a Public Court of Examiners appointed, before whom all persons qualified and aspiring to become Members of Parliament, or to fill any other important office in the State, might present themselves for examination.

"That an examination of candidates should be made before the said court, at stated periods, and all such as should be found fully qualified should be provided *with a diploma to that effect*, and hereafter no candidate should be eligible to offer himself as a representative of the people in Parliament, or to fill any important office in the State unless he possessed such a diploma of his competency.

"That members of the Legislature, possessing such diploma, who should have diligently attended to their duties in Parliament for the term of *seven years*, should—on a vote of the House—be entitled to have their names inscribed on a list of 'Persons Competent to Share in the Government of their Country,' and in the choice of Cabinet Ministers, Secretaries of State, Ambassadors, and all important public servants, her Majesty should be respectfully informed, that save such, no others possessed the confidence of Parliament.

"Your petitioner therefore prays that the *property qualification* for Members of Parliament be abolished, and *an intellectual and moral qualification of a higher standard than now prevails be substituted in lieu thereof;* that a Public Court or Courts of Examiners be held at stated periods, before whom persons desirous of becoming Legislators, or of taking part in the government of their country, may present themselves for examination. That all such persons as may be deemed qualified be presented with *a diploma to that effect*, and that no candidate be eligible to sit in Parliament, or to fill any important office in the State, without he possesses such a diploma of his competency. That Members of Parliament possessing such

diploma who have diligently performed their parliamentary duties for seven years, be entitled (on a vote of the House) to have their names inscribed on a list of 'Persons Competent to Share in the Government of their Country,' from which list Her Majesty's Ministers, and all important public officers may be chosen; and as such means for securing intellectual and moral fitness in legislators and rulers would remove all apprehensions of ignorance, violence, or party having any undue ascendancy in Parliament, the franchise may be universally extended, and every means safely taken for securing a full and free representation of the whole people of these realms, granting which your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

Towards the end of this year was published a little poem of mine, entitled "Woman's Mission." This was written about fourteen years previous to its publication, in compliance with the request of my kind friend, Mrs. Goodrick, of Birmingham, at whose house I was then staying for a short time for the benefit of my health. It was written, for the most part, during my visit, and I believe was greatly helped to its completion by her kind encouragement, and shrewd and sensible remarks thereon. One of my poetic friends (Mr. Thomas Beggs) having seen it some years after it was written suggested that I should make an effort to render it more complete than it was; the measure of the early part of it not being accordant to rule. My school duties and other matters prevented me from doing this until the time referred to, and I believe it would not have then been published had not my generous friend, Mr. Isaac F. Mollett, kindly taken upon himself the charge of printing it.

CHAPTER XX

The following year (1857) was to me a period of great trouble and anxiety, occasioned, for the most part, by my connection with the National Hall. A publican having taken the premises adjoining to it, resolved to obtain our premises, if possible, for a music hall, in connection with his public-house. To this end he employed a scheming house-agent to assist him, one who boasted to me that he had travelled upwards of a thousand miles before he could find out the proprietors, and settle with them about the sale of the hall. These were three Quaker brothers, of Bristol, their agent to whom I paid the rent being another Quaker, living in London. This last had told me many months previously that he thought the proprietors were disposed to sell the hall, and promised to obtain all the particulars respecting it for me; for though I had no means of purchasing it myself, I had a friend that would have purchased it on account of the schools held in it. The house-agent referred to, however, found out the proprietors, and in some way arranged with the agent that I should know nothing about it till the bargain had been concluded. The publican having thus got possession of the premises, commenced a series of annoyances and persecutions in order to obtain occupancy, for I had upwards of six years of my lease unexpired. Having just paid off the debt on the hall, and laid out a large sum in putting a new flooring in it and repainting it, I was hopeful that if I could retain it for that period I should be somewhat indemnified for the outlay, labours, and sacrifices I had made during the time the management had been thrown upon me. I had also two large schools in it, and was doing some good, and that was a strong motive for inducing me to retain possession. This, however, was not to be,

for the publican first began by threatening to stop up the passage leading to the hall, as it ran under his premises, and we had had to obtain the consent of the previous occupant for flooring and covering over a part of it. His next plan was to get a surveyor to examine the premises, and to make out a report unfavourable to their safety. But, singular enough, while the surveyor and the publican were going over the premises, to make out this report against their safety, the surveyor was, at the same time, giving him hints, and telling him how he might alter it for a music hall; and assured him that the beams of the roof were sufficiently strong to bear chandeliers. This curious conversation was overheard, and made known to me by Mr. Henry Mills, the hallkeeper, a man on whose veracity I place the greatest reliance.

With this false report, however, in his possession, he represented to the Commissioners of Police that the premises were highly unsafe, and that as we were about to have a large public meeting in it of the unemployed, who were in the habit of meeting in Smithfield (which was a great falsity), that we ought to be restrained. A magistrate's warrant was accordingly issued, and the police surveyor sent to examine the premises. He accordingly ordered that, before the place should be occupied again, a certain portion of the east wall should be taken down, and piers built up from the foundation to the roof on one side. I not having the means for accomplishing such extensive repairs went, in my dilemma, to see my kind friend A. B., who had for so many years been a friend and supporter of the school. He told me that if I entertained any hopes that these repairs would enable me to keep on the schools, and to carry on the business of the hall as usual, that he would lend me the means for completing them. This induced me to engage a builder to commence the repairs required, which, when the publican heard of, he did all he could to induce the police surveyor to condemn the end of the building nearest to his own premises also. Failing in this, as well as in an effort to obtain possession of the magistrate's warrant, so as

to turn me out of the place on the plea of insecurity, he sent a person to again threaten me with the blocking up of the passage. I told him that he might do his worst, as he had done hitherto, and that the law must take its course. In the course of a few days, however, he sent a person to inquire what I wanted for the remainder of my lease. I told him that I did not wish to give up the premises, as they were well occupied. Having, however, in the interim consulted a lawyer friend, respecting my right of way, through the passage, I found that my case was doubtful, and that I should have but a poor chance if I let it pass into a court of law, as *the right of way* had been abandoned by the people who had the place before us (they having had another entrance) and our right not having been established by the usage of twenty years. Then it was that I thought it well to give up the struggle, and to let my lawyer negotiate for me. This ended in my receiving £600 for the remainder of the lease and fixtures, and £159 for the builder's account for repairing the wall. Subsequently I received £70 14s. 6d. for the school furniture and apparatus at a public sale, and these conjointly formed my final receipts. When I had repaid out of this money all sums due for repairs, rent, salaries, loans, legal and other expenses, there remained in my hands the sum of £290 11s. 2d. on account of the hall. Thus after labouring for about fifteen years to establish and uphold this place did it pass out of our hands to be converted into a gin-palace. Thus was an institution for the education of about three hundred children, and for the instruction and improvement of the great numbers that attended the lectures and classes held in it, obliged to give way to an institution for corrupting the rising generation ; for I hold that no more efficient means for corrupting a people can be found than that of blending their amusements with the means of intoxication. It will be remembered, from what I have already said, that the magistrates of Middlesex refused to grant a music license to our Association when we first opened the hall because, forsooth, we were Chartists ; persons who aimed at freeing, instructing, and

soberizing the people, by excluding all kinds of intoxicating drinks from among them ; but no sooner did the hall pass into the hands of a publican than a license was not only readily granted by the magistrates, but some of their body, together with brewers, publicans, and their disciples, met to drink, revel, and rejoice in it, and to express the great gratification they felt that so glorious a change had taken place. Everything, of course, that will divert the people's attention away from all social and political improvement is by all means to be encouraged by those who live by their ignorance and prosper by their vices. Hence we see, in all parts of the country, how readily magistrates license places of amusement in connection with public-houses, and how numerous they have become in the course of a few years. It needs, in fact, little discrimination to perceive that all and every project calculated to divert our young men's attention from all intellectual pursuits, and from all efforts for their social and political improvement, meet ready patronage, praise, and encouragement from those in power and authority. When I left the hall, however, I was hopeful that I might soon meet with another place to enable me to carry on my schools as formerly, and I got my desks and other school apparatus warehoused with that hope. But after keeping them for about four years and having failed in getting any place likely to suit me, I disposed of them by sale, as I have stated. In the meantime, my kind friend A. B., having recommended me to the Treasurer and Superintendent of St. Thomas Charterhouse Schools—the Reverend Mr. Rogers—as a teacher of elementary anatomy and physiology, and my services being accepted, I continued for nearly eight years to teach these subjects there to the best of my ability when health permitted. Subsequently, I taught the same subjects for nearly two years, at Mr. W. Richardson's Grammar School, Gray's Inn Road.

My educational efforts having been interfered with at the hall in the manner described, I thought I might possibly be able to render some service to the cause in another way. Having felt as a teacher the great want of books suitable

for enabling me to teach the outlines of science to those committed to my care, I thought I might be able to prepare a few elementary works, adapted for imparting that description of knowledge to children; and I thought also they might possibly be found useful to working men who like myself had not had the advantage of a scientific education. I know that many will be found to smile, if not to sneer, at the notion of working men being taught anything of *science;* beings, who are only expected to labour and be content in the situation in which they are placed, and to be obedient and humble to all their betters. But entertaining the notion that the wealth, happiness, and security of a country depend more on the general enlightenment, good conduct, skill, and industry *of the many*, than on the superior attainments of the *few*, I am for the education and development of all the powers God has given *to all* without reference to the class they belong to, or the station in life they may hereafter fill. And until that broad principle of education is recognized and acted upon *justice* will not be rendered to the millions, nor will the productive and manufacturing powers of our country be developed to the extent that they would be if this were done. With these notions I have laboured and shall continue to labour to the extent of my poor abilities to impart the outlines of science to the rising generation, believing that it can be easily done, and that it will do more towards enabling them to understand their own nature, to know their duties to society, and the means of making them good and useful members of society, than much of what now goes by the name of education.

The first, then, of the elementary books I prepared was one on astronomy, a science that I think all should know something about, at least of its great outlines. For in contemplating the heavens of gorgeous grandeur and boundless extent—filled with suns and worlds innumerable—the mind is filled with the most delightful imaginings regarding their nature, origin, and extent; and is lifted far above all superstitious grovelling on becoming acquainted with the great facts the science of the heavens

unfolds. It has been in this region of inquiry above all others that the human mind has been expanded to the achievement of its grandest and proudest triumphs ; for in striving to grasp the mighty magnitudes, the rapid motions, the unfathomed distances, and the laws that govern the majestic movements of the orbs above him, man has not only unravelled thread by thread the veil of mystery and error, but has made his knowledge of the heavens his noblest guide on earth ; enabling him to push his fearless course across the trackless ocean, to spread his bounties, extend his knowledge, improve and bless his brethren, and finally, let us hope, to link the whole world together in amity. My next little work was one on geology, a subject which I think of the highest importance, as from the wide field which it opens out for man's investigation, observation, and thought in every department of nature—from the curious and wondrous records which it unfolds of an immeasurable past—from the facts which it presents of a ceaseless, ever-changing present—and the curious speculations which it affords of the new races and still more advanced forms that may people the future—there is perhaps no other science so well calculated to captivate and expand the intellect, and to excite our imagination, our wonder, and delight ; and "*Knowledge and Thought*," says the great and noble-minded Humboldt, "*are at once the delight and prerogative of man and form a part also of the wealth of nations.*" Independently, however, of the blessings that spring from knowledge, the study of nature, in all her boundless fields, not only serves to gratify the natural thirst and curiosity which every reflecting person has to know the purposes, the uses, and properties of the existences around him ; and the strong desire which he has to trace the past and to question the future ; but such studies serve also to solve, or cast a flood of light to illumine, a thousand subjects otherwise dark, perplexing, and mysterious. In throwing open the stony records of geological science, the attentive student may read for himself—"without the aid of translators or commentators"—a true illustrated history of the various animal and vegetable

tribes that lived and flourished on our globe countless ages before the mighty Alps that now lift their rocky summits above the clouds, were ejected from the molten caverns of the earth, and long before the fossilized stones, of which the hoary pyramids are built, were upraised from beneath primeval ocean. In those records, formed beneath the waters, may he find entombed the stony forms and distinctive features of earth's first living things. Here may he trace upwards through miles of strata, which it may have taken millions of ages to form, the successive races and ever advancing forms of animal and vegetable life; these "commencing with the simple polype, the arm-footed mollusc, the humble trilobite, and sea-weeds of the lowest forms; and advancing upwards to the succession of fishes, reptiles, birds, and mammals, up to the being *man*, and the trees, fruits, and plants on which he depends for his subsistence." These observations are made with the view of showing my working-class brethren the great necessity for the cultivation of this important branch of science; not only for the great material benefits that flow from it, but for the mental pleasure it affords to all those who are anxious to know something of the world they inhabit —of the changes that have taken place on its surface—and of the beings that peopled its land and its waters before *man*, the savage, the oppressor, the slave, or the benefactor of his species, made his appearance upon earth. Entertaining also the strong conviction that man has hitherto been oppressed and enslaved because he lacked the strength and power which *knowledge* alone can give, I am anxious to see the masses of my countrymen striving to acquire and disseminate it by every means in their power; for they may rest assured that every increase of useful knowledge will be found an addition to their pleasure—will give them an increase of power for the abolition of evil—will add to their social and political usefulness—will give them greater means for producing and extending the means of happiness—and will create among them the desire to be the friends and benefactors of the various nations of the world. And amongst the

different kinds of knowledge taught, and to a great extent appreciated in the present day, I know of none more valuable than *scientific knowledge*, including, of course, the sciences of social and political life. Not that any one person can be expected to master many sciences, but I hold that all men might be able to master the *great outlines of many sciences*, if they were taught them at school, and that without more mental effort than is now given to teach them the Old and New Testament History, the History of the Churches, Creeds, Collects, Catechisms, Church Formulas, the Geography of Palestine, and much of what is now designated *religious teaching*. That I am not singular in my opinion, that many of these subjects might be well exchanged for a more essential kind of knowledge, I would refer to the *Report of the Educational Commissioners of* 1861. In speaking of the then syllabus of the training colleges of the country, they say :—"But we feel bound to state that the omission of one subject from the syllabus, and from the examination papers, has left on our minds a painful impression. Next to religion, the knowledge most important to a labouring man is that of the causes which regulate the amount of his wages, the hours of his work, the regularity of his employment, and the prices of what he consumes. The want of such knowledge leads him constantly into error and violence, destructive to himself and to his family, oppressive to his fellow workmen, ruinous to his employers, and mischievous to society. Of the elements of such knowledge we see no traces in the syllabus, except the words 'savings banks and the nature of interest,' in the female syllabus. If some of the time now devoted to the Geography of Palestine, the Succession of the Kings of Israel, the Wars of the Roses, or the Heresies of the Early Church, were given to Political Economy, much valuable instruction might be acquired, *and little that is worth having would be lost.*" The lines I have italicized myself. Again they say :—"We think also that the present list of alternative subjects, omits some which are so important that the question whether they should not be made *compulsory*, in all cases, *at the expense of sacrificing*

some of what we have described as the elementary subjects, well deserves the attentive consideration of the framers of the syllabus. These are the principles of Physiology, in so far as they are necessary to explain those rules which affect the preservation of health." To show the opinions of others, of what is at present taught in those colleges and schools, I will adduce a portion of evidence given in the same report; one, by the Principal of a training college, and the other by one of Her Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary. The first of these, Mr. Robinson, of York Training College, says, "To use a very significant and very intelligible expression, the great feature of the course of study pursued in training colleges is *cram*. In such subjects as Old Testament History, outlines of English History, there is necessarily an immense preponderance of names, dates, and facts, which have to be *remembered*, but not digested." The Rev. F. B. Zincke, Her Majesty's Chaplain, says, "A very large portion of the whole school period is usually spent in reading the Holy Scriptures, and in committing to memory the Bible History and more or less of the sacred text. All the while everybody knows how little good in most cases results from all these efforts and sacrifices." To which I may add an extract from Mr. Foster's evidence taken from the same report. "The efforts of the teachers (says Mr. Foster) whom I met with appeared directed chiefly to the facts of Scripture History, stimulated hereto by the usual tenor of the Inspector's Examination." Now it requires very little argument to cause thoughtful enquirers to perceive that *science*, in preference to such teaching, affords the only means for making children acquainted with their own physical, mental, and moral natures; a description of knowledge which would prove the best safeguard of their health, as well as the best security for clearly knowing and understanding their moral duties. It needs, too, no laboured argument to prove that a knowledge of *science* can alone enable them to understand the various great and important questions of social life; while, at the same time, it would cause them to clearly perceive the sure and certain path that

leads to their own *well-being* and that of all their brethren. Science, too, may be said to form the foundation of all those arts, appliances, and inventions that supply the wants, and minister to the comforts and happiness of civilized life. And the proof of this is perhaps more evident in our own day than in any past period of our history; for to what do we owe our vast increase of capital, our extended trade and commerce, our rapid transit by sea and land, and our varied and multiplied means of comfort and enjoyment, but to the investigations, contrivances, and labours of a few thoughtful, plodding, persevering men, whose wondrous achievements had their foundation in a knowledge of nature, and of nature's laws? In fact, *science* throws open to every enquirer the whole extensive laboratory of Nature—displays before him her immense stores of varied materials fitting for every purpose—stimulates his ingenuity by showing him her countless contrivances, from the most minute to the most stupendous—calls forth his inventive and constructive powers by teaching him the simplicity and efficiency of her wondrous laws—awakens whatever latent genius, whatever feelings of hope or ambition may be in his nature, and bids him energetically and industriously labour to apply all those means and resources for the benefit of his country and his race. And among those who have availed themselves of those teachings, and who have laboured in compliance with these injunctions, there are surely none who stand higher in the roll of earth's benefactors than those who have sprung from the ranks of labour. But great as has been our country's share in the glorious work of human advancement, and justly proud, as we may be, of the men whose labours have made our country, so far, "*great, glorious, and free*," we must gird up our loins for renewed efforts in the race of invention and improvement, if we would still maintain our position, and enjoy the advantages we derive from it. Other nations than our own are fast applying our inventions, and stimulating their people to improve and extend them; and we, too, must, by every means in our power, strive to

stimulate the latent genius and slumbering energies that, doubtless, now lie buried in the minds of our people beneath an incrustation of ignorance, prejudice, and vice, if we would continue to extend our improvements, our inventions, and means of production, and maintain our ascendency for the advancement of our own and the world's happiness. But can we wonder at the extent of ignorance that still prevails in society, when our people are taught nothing at school regarding themselves, nor of the social duties necessary for realizing the means of happiness for themselves or others; nor of the why or wherefore of the political institutions under which they live? Can we wonder at the vast numbers of our fellow men being content with mere animal indulgences, while they have the means of procuring them, without regard to present duty or future consequences, when they are taught little or nothing at school of the rules of conduct that are necessary for their well-being? Need we be surprised that thousands of our women are deficient of every moral requisite to fit them for wives or mothers; many of them not being able to cook a decent meal, to make or mend their own or their children's garments, nor even in many cases to keep them clean! when the chief requisites of their school education—if they get any—are to be able to parrot over the catechism, to say a few prayers or collects, to sing a few hymns, or to mumble over a chapter in the Bible; or, if wealthy, to acquire a few of what are called "accomplishments"? I know that "*religious education*" is thought by some to be the great thing necessary. But is this, that so often goes by the *name of religion*, much other than one great sham? I should have no objection to see the essentials of religion made a part of education; but not the mere form and shadow of it. True religion, in my opinion, is a question essentially *of duty*, and not of *mere belief*. A religion of mere belief can effect little good, neither can it continue to satisfy the mind of an intelligent enquirer. For being founded on mere *belief*, it must be more dependent on external circumstances than on deep moral convictions;

for the firm belief on any creed or religious notion to-day, may be easily swayed and carried away captive by the stronger evidence of to-morrow. Hence, we need not be surprised to learn that thousands of persons of deep and earnest faith in some belief or form of religion, which they have in a manner inherited without investigation —and being ignorant of all the great facts of history, and of the science and phenomena of nature—become doubters or apostates to their faith as soon as those facts and that science and phenomenon are made clear to them. Some of them thus convinced—as we have recently seen —are content to suffer the greatest obloquy and sacrifice rather than forego their earnest convictions ; while others, with less honesty, stifle their convictions, and make their religion a thing of interest, fashion, or expediency. But when our religious convictions are based on *duty*, when we are clearly led to perceive that a certain and conscientious *course of conduct* is necessary to be observed by every individual in this world to secure individual happiness and human well-being, we have a hopeful and stable religion, urging us from day to day, and from year to year, to use our best efforts for the enlightenment, moral elevation, and general improvement of humanity. The deep religious conviction that our duty to our brethren is their elevation and improvement, from their cradle to their grave, in order that they may be qualified to help on the great work of human progress, and be made participators in all that can make our earth a home of abundance, comfort, peace, love, and kindness to one another, is a religion stable, cheering, and practicable ; a religion insuring happiness here, and best qualifying us for the future state of happiness in store for those who have performed their religious duties. But a religion *of belief and saving faith*—often despising works—and of forms, ceremonies, and church and chapel-going, one day in seven, is attended with less trouble, and less sacrifices, than a religion of duty ; a religion, such as should cause them to feel that they have a personal religious duty in promoting and supporting *the education of all our people,*

and to see that they are so taught as to be able to read and understand something of the great volume of nature, so trained as to know, and readily perform, life's duties to the extent of their abilities, and so qualified that they shall be able to surround themselves with the means of happiness, and to bless others by their labours. Such a *duty*, however, is never thought of by those who have been taught to regard the masses as mere tools and instruments of labour; whose only education should consist of such schooling as shall serve to make them contented, humble, passive, and obedient serfs. They think that they have strictly performed their religious duties towards them, when they have given a donation or subscription to the village or district school, and think themselves laudable Christians if they have whiled away their leisure hours in teaching little children their notions of religion in a Sunday or Ragged School. They never think it *a religious duty* to endeavour to check pauperism, vice, and crime *in the bud* by taking care of the thousands of young, neglected, and destitute children, and so placing and training them that they shall grow up to be a blessing to themselves and others.* No! they must first receive their street education or pilfering-schooling to qualify them for a reformatory or a prison; † or, escaping these, they must pass from one degree of wretchedness to another till they find a refuge in the workhouse, and then they will grudgingly pay their rates for their support, or give them in their zeal their Bible and Prayer Book. Do the great bulk of our so-called *religionists*, who exhibit such zeal to convert the heathen, think it *a*

* Since this was written the School Boards are gradually remedying this grievous evil.

† Dr. Croly asserts, on good authority, that there are, in this metropolis, 16,000 children trained to crime, 15,000 men living by low gambling, 50,000 by constant thieving; 5000 receivers of stolen goods, and 150,000 men and women subsisting by other disgraceful means. There are also not fewer than 25,000 beggars; so that there are more than 250,000 persons in the London district, of all ages and sexes, who prey upon the honest and industrious part of the community.—*The Builder*, of June 16th, 1860.

religious duty to instruct, elevate, and improve the vast numbers of our adult population, whose education has been neglected? Do they endeavour, according to their abilities, to give them sound practical lessons on life's duties, and to aid them by personal acts of kindness in want, sickness, and affliction? No! With the exception of a few Good Samaritans here and there—the majority of them exercise their charity as they do their religion—*by deputy;* and that in such a manner as to destroy all self-reliance in the recipients, and to foster hypocrisy and cant. Does the religion of *duty* influence our so-called Christian manufacturers, traders, and dealers, so as to prevent gross adulterations, spurious articles, false weights and measures, and the trickery and deceit so many of them have recourse to? Does the religion of *duty* prevent great numbers of them from obtaining vast sums of money—under *false pretences*—for carrying on their various schemes and companies, and for obtaining extravagant means for their gluttony and dissipation; or for building up fortunes to which they have no just claim? Are the pillars of the Church among the wealthy of our land influenced *by duty* in the application of their wealth? Do they bring up their children to be useful members of the community, to become wise examples, and intellectual and moral workers to help on the world's progress; or do they rear them up in extravagant luxury, idleness, and uselessness? Do they apply their surplus means for the improvement of society, and to raise up the downfallen; or do they waste them in feasts of boundless luxury and wasteful profusion—in hunting appliances and game preserves, in horse-racing, betting, and gambling; or in bribing their way to power, and subjecting the multitude to their will? Or does the religion *of duty* prompt even our clergy to denounce the horrible sin of bribery; to hold up, as they ought, the briber to scorn, or to preach against wickedness in high places? When we have so much reverence expressed for what they call *religion,* either by individuals or by bodies of men, it is well to put a few questions, and to test them by the only prac-

tical part of it worthy of consideration ; for if all *religious duty* is to be put aside in their life and conduct, their *belief* or *faith* in any particular creed or religion is not worth a grain of mustard seed. What, for instance, is the religious belief of our bishops worth, when their conduct is anything but Christian ? * Take one or two facts only in proof of this, They are said to divide among them the sum of £155,000, or more, annually, averaging about £5,535 a year each, independent of the splendid palaces they live in and the influence and pickings that belong to their order.† This extravagance, too, is shared among them while, according to a statement made a few years ago by the Secretary of the Poor Clergy Relief Society, " there are more than 5,000 curates of the Church of England whose incomes do not average £80 per annum, and about a like number of beneficed clergymen whose clerical incomes are under £150 per year. That some of them with large families can only afford two meals a day, and animal food only once a week ; and that they have scarcely a decent coat themselves, and that their children have no clothes to enable them to go to church on Sundays." In 1869, a poor clergyman, not far from Oxford, told his own tale in the *Daily News*. He said that his living was but £70 a year, on which to bring up a family of six children, and that then, in his old age, he had to pay a curate £40 a year to do the service for him. Surely such abundant means of luxury and profusion possessed by the heads of a Church, who profess the religion of Him who said that it was easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of

* Since this was written, I have read of one honest, outspoken bishop—Dr. Fraser, of Manchester.

† According to their own returns, published in 1845, twenty-six of them divided between them £212,562, averaging £8,175 per annum—*Standard of Freedom*, 1849.

" The Church property (said the Chancellor of the Exchequer) is worth £90,000,000 "—The *Daily News*, Jan. 14th, 1874.

According to returns made to Parliament in 1867, there had been £139,799 spent on the palaces of five bishops.

heaven,* that they should take no thought for the morrow, and that even if they had two coats they should charitably dispose of one of them—surely these men show by their conduct that they have little faith in the religion they profess. As for their poorer brethren—the men who chiefly perform the real work of the Church, many with great zeal and earnestness—the prelates show by their anti-Christian conduct that they have neither charity nor common humanity towards them. Yet these are the men *who talk so much about religion*, and the necessity for extending it, by preaching sermons in theatres, music-halls, streets, and highways, while with soft speech they dun the minister by dozens, and with eager hands clutch at every opportunity of preferment, and at every means for advancing their worldly power and aggrandisement. These are the men, too, who resist all reform in the Church, all progress in the State. We have recently seen how pertinaciously they have resisted any alteration being made in the old Church ritual—a compilation which their predecessors mostly borrowed from Catholicism, in order that recent converts from that creed might the more readily adopt it. Instead of listening to the true friends of the Church, who would reform in order to preserve, and would make their ritual more in accordance with sound Protestantism and the spirit of the age, they—like children over their house of cards—cry out against anyone touching their frail fabric, lest the whole fall to the ground. Yet, among these so-called *Protestant Bishops*, are to be found men who have connived, or looked with complacency, at the Popish follies carried on within the

* A few of the riches gathered by the Prelates of the *Church of Ireland alone*—Fowler, Archbishop of Dublin, died worth £150,000, Beresford, Archbishop of Tuam, £250,000; Agar, Archbishop of Cashel, £400,000; Stuart, Archbishop of Armagh, £300,000; Knox, Bishop of Derry, £100,000; Stopford, Bishop of Cork, £25,000 Percy, Bishop of Dromore, £40,000; Cleaver, Bishop of Ferns, £50,000; Bernard, Bishop of Limerick, £60,000; Hawkins, Bishop of Raphoe, £250,000; Porter, £250,000. This large amount, of nearly two millions, over their luxurious living, was gleaned from such a poor country as Ireland. The fortunes left by English Prelates are, I doubt not, still larger.

churches they rule over—places where altar-pieces, holy roods, candlesticks, tapers, and fine dresses, are thought to be the great essentials of religion; where confession, and all the mummeries and mischief of Catholicism are in full swing, and where Protestant ministers work with such zeal to rebuild all that our great Reformation was effected to destroy, that they have made the bridge already comparatively easy from Protestantism to Popery; a bridge, too, that it is thought very fashionable to pass over.* But folly, superstition, and mental darkness with these men are not of importance; it is the progress of intelligence, wisdom, and mental light they dread; and, such is their zeal for the Church—with themselves at the head of it—that they have ever sought to block up every cranny by which intellectual light might enter. We have lately witnessed their zeal in this particular:—A few of the most enlightened and learned men of the Church conceived that they might do some service to society by putting forth their views on certain religious questions in the form of Essays. Now, without taking into account the opinion entertained by most of the reflecting minds of our age, that "*Truth can only be elicited by free discussion,*" and that "*It is for the interest of society that truth shall prevail,*" these men were justified in putting forth their views and opinions by the exhortation of the Scriptures, themselves, for St. Paul has exhorted us to "Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good." But what conduct was pursued towards these men by the heads of the Church? Did they try to answer them? No; they had recourse to persecution, they appealed to *Church-made law;* and, when they had got *a lawyer* to expound how far the opinions of these men were in accordance with their oracles—instead of in accordance with the truth—and had to some extent obtained a verdict against them, then it was that all who sought favour or preferment put forth answers in profusion. How far any of them have suc-

* Popery has made rapid strides in England within a few years. There are now said to be here 1893 Catholic Priests; 1453 Catholic Churches; 86 Monasteries; and 286 Convents.

ceeded in disproving *the truth* of what was stated by the Essayists let any competent judge determine. But though they succeeded in obtaining the verdict of the Church against these men, they did not silence the truth; for very speedily one of their *own order* entered the lists as a champion in the cause of *truth*—shamed into it, according to his own confession, by the questions put to him by an untutored Zulu of Africa. But his efforts, too, to free his religion from ancient error and to establish what he believed to be *the truth*, were in like manner assailed by the vindictive vituperations of bigotry and fanaticism. The *law* was at once appealed to, instead of honest inquiry; and when they failed to crush him by that costly engine, they brought the combined power of priestly wrath, from all parts of the world, to denounce and silence him if possible. But these cowardly proceedings, so foreign to justice, so repugnant to the gentle and forgiving spirit of Christianity, have only served to promote inquiry, and to kindle the love of truth in many minds, instead of stifling or retarding it. Instead of honestly investigating whether the statements put forth by their brother bishop were true or not; whether they were opposed to or in accordance with the truths of science, and the great laws of the universe, or whether the statements in these old Jewish books might not possibly be "*unhistorical*"—the mistaken notions, traditions, myths, and speculative crudities of a half barbarous people, who thought themselves the only favourites of heaven, although acting very irreligiously towards the nations around them;—instead of such sober investigations, they threw all intelligent inquiry to the winds, spurned the Christian kindness of the religion they profess, and had recourse to that persecuting spirit they are so prone to condemn in those who made martyrs of persons of their own faith. But this vindictive persecuting spirit forms no part of *true religion;* and if all those who dare question the assertions, acts, and morals, contained in these old Jewish books are to be subject to the persecution of the clergy, then must the Great Founder of their own religion be condemned. For Christ Himself is said

to have repudiated the revengeful laws and questionable morals found in these old records ; for he said that "instead of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," he had brought to mankind *a new religion*, that of the forgiveness of enemies, of love to one another, and of doing good even to those who hate them, despitefully use them, and persecute them. These opinions of mine will doubtless procure for me the title of *infidel*, the great bugbear which priestcraft has set up to frighten and deter, if possible, all those who presume to question its infallibility—the only substitute that free inquiry has left it, with the exception of the Ecclesiastical Court—in lieu of the rack, the dungeon, and the ancient burnings of Smithfield. This bugbear, however, is fast failing them, and the day is not distant when men will laugh at it and eventually despise it. If, however, an earnest desire to see our National Church made a great and efficient instrument for the religious instruction, moral elevation, and improvement of our people, and to see it purged and purified of the follies and superstitions that now keep so many thoughtful and earnest men apart from it, and so changed in character that they may be brought to regard and rally round it for the intellectual light and moral and religious life it diffuses through the land—if such desires merit reproach, I am content to bear the name of infidel. But to the great end I have indicated, the Church must become *truly National*, must become practically religious ; and must *cease to be under the dominion of a bench of Bishops*. The Church and the Church Property truly belong to the whole people, and should not be made the monopoly of a few wealthy families and of an irresponsible hierarchy, whose half papal creed, selfish desire, and bigoted opposition to all reform, either from within or from without, have driven thousands into the arms of Dissent, and whose selfish appropriations and divisions of its revenues outrage all principles of justice, all feelings of true religion. The Church, belonging to the people, should, I conceive, be placed under the control and government of *the People's Representatives in Parliament*, and under the management of the minister responsible to

them—say a Minister of Education and Religion, as the two functions could be well blended. But, to prevent either him or any of the clergy or servants of the Church from running counter to the wishes of the nation, as ascertained through their representatives, there should be a clear declaration of the principles and requirements of a National Church; of the duties of its Ministers, its Government, and Management; as well as the mode to be adopted for reforming or improving it from time to time, clearly laid down by Act of Parliament; and the present Canons, Articles, and Liturgy, together with the whole machinery of Ecclesiastical Law, thoroughly reformed or consigned to the monkish limbo whence most of them originated.* Now, without presuming to say what the national will might be regarding the extent of such reform, I may, as one of the people, rightfully put forth my views regarding what I conceive should be done to make our Church a great and efficient instrument for the elevation of our people. In the first place, I would do away with the present manifest injustice of giving to one servant of the Church *fifty times* greater means of providing for himself and family than another; and, as little difference would exist in their labours if they were fairly divided, I would give as nearly as may be an equal support to all of them. And as Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and all such grand offices could be well dispensed with, under the government of a Minister of Religion, their present exorbitant revenues together with the large benefices now monopolized by a few, would—if equally and justly dispensed—give a comfortable maintenance to every Church Minister. By such change, however, I by no means contemplate the deprivation of any of the present servants of the Church of just means of support; I would only apportion the present revenues and possessions of the Church more in accordance with justice, and with the spirit and principle of the Christian Religion. The next great requisite is the abolition of the religion of form and ceremony—of parroting repetitions, denunciatory liturgies, and mere metaphysical

* Lord Chatham used to assert that we had a Popish Liturgy.

preachings, which for so many hundreds of years have been barren of any results worthy of the name of Christianity—and the substituting in their place the great practical lessons taught by Christ;—the teaching of our population, in plain, simple, earnest language, the great moral and religious duties they are bound to perform—individually, socially, and politically—in order to secure the wellbeing, righteous conduct, the peace, prosperity, and happiness of society, and of the great Brotherhood of man.* Such teaching, too, to be enforced by clear reasoning and demonstrative proofs, so that none should fail to comprehend their meaning or importance. Their lessons, too, enforced with all the outspoken truth of the Great Teacher, meant equally for all men, of all classes and in all stations, from the idle, improvident, and dissipated workman, to the fraudulent, adulterating producer, the unjust and truthless dealer, the seeker of wealth by questionable means and crooked paths, up to the corrupt, selfish legislator who bribes his way to power, and the Emperor, King, or President who takes delight in contention and war. Nor should the labours of our Clergy end here; for they should strive to kindle intellectual light, in order to ensure moral or religious results worthy of the name. Remembering that ignorance is the gangrene ever festering the heart of society, poisoning the happiness of social life, and causing most of the improvidence, dissipation, vice, and crime, that curse our country, they should sedulously seek to remove the far-spread ignorance from which these evils spring. Why then, should not some portion of the Sunday—the only day the great bulk of our population have at their disposal—be devoted to their instruction by

* A Bishop's Christian Charity.—Bishop Moriarty, of Ireland, in speaking of the heads of the Fenian Conspiracy, said:—"Oh! God's heaviest curse, His withering, blighting, blasting curse, is on them. I preached to you last Sunday on the eternity of hell's torments. Human reason was inclined to say that it is a hard word, and who can bear it? But when we look down into the fathomless depth of this infamy of the heads of the Fenian Conspiracy, we must acknowledge that eternity is not long enough, nor hell hot enough, to punish such miscreants."—*The Express*, February, 1867.

their Church Minister ? Not merely in teaching them their moral and religious duties, but in enlightening them regarding the world they inhabit, the numerous diversified existences they are surrounded by, the great facts and phenomena of nature, of the mighty wonders of the orbs above them, and of the great laws of the universe in all their might and magnificence ? * Why should the great majority of their congregation continue to live in the midst of beauties which they see not, be surrounded with wonders which excite not their curiosity—beings for the most part struggling merely to live, and living merely to labour ; at best, patient toiling drudges, walking in mental night amid the full blaze of intellectual day ? Are these people, whose labours bless our land with abundance, to be always regarded as the mere spokes and cogs of our great social machine

* Anecdote of Euler, told by Arago, in the Chamber of Deputies, 1836.

" Euler," he said, " was eminently pious. One Sunday afternoon, a celebrated preacher of one of the Berlin Churches said to him :—' Alas ! the cause of religious truth is lost—faith no longer exists. Would you believe it,' said the preacher, ' I pictured creation in all its poetry, in all its marvellous beauty, I cited the philosophers of old, I quoted the Bible itself ; half my audience slept, the others left the Church ! ' ' Try the following experiment,' said Euler—' instead of quoting Greek philosophers to convey an idea of the vastness of creation, tell your audience *of the facts Science reveals to us.* Tell them that the sun is 1,200,000 greater than our earth. Tell them that the planets are worlds ; that Jupiter is fourteen hundred times larger than our earth ; describe to them the wonders of Saturn's ring. Tell them of the stars, and convey an idea of their distance by the scale of light. Tell them that *light traverses eighty-thousand leagues per second.* Tell them that there exists not a star whose light reaches us in less than three years. Tell them that, from several, the light only attains our hemisphere in thirty years—and then, from positive facts pass on to the great probabilities of scientific discovery. Say, for instance, that certain stars might be visible millions of years *after their annihilation,* because the light they emit requires several millions of years to reach our earth, etc., etc.' Next Sunday, the great Euler awaited his friend's arrival with impatience. He came, but depressed and profoundly afflicted. ' What ! ' exclaimed Euler, ' what has happened ? ' ' Ah ! ' replied his friend, ' I am most unfortunate. My congregation forgot the respect due to God's holy temple—do you believe it ? *they cheered me.*' "

without any consideration of the intellectual powers now folded up within them? Must ignorance continue to engender ignorance and produce its annual crops of vice and crime, while our clergy—whose duty, above all men, should be to diffuse mental light through the land—are restrained by their ecclesiastical tether to the narrow circle of forms and ceremonies, and the putting forth of old drowsy inanities, the endless repetitions of which neither enlighten nor improve? Our clergymen have all received a liberal education—though not always the best—such as with little study and application would qualify them for this great work, were they freed from the trammels that now bind them and found it to be a portion of their duty. Imagine, then, our twenty thousand clergymen to be earnestly employed in the great work I have indicated—of teaching our people their moral and religious duties, and enlightening them by every means in their power—do you think the future century of the Church would be so barren of good results as the last? Do you think we should have so many thousands of Dissenters leaving it by reason of its creed, forms, and barren teachings? Do you think we should witness so much ignorance, improvidence, drunkenness, vice, and crime in the land, if our clergy, with the means they have at their disposal, had been engaged in enlightening our people and in teaching them their moral and religious duties, in place of their parroting services and metaphysical moonshine? Should we have the strange anomaly we now witness of Prisons, Reformatories, and the increase of outrageous crimes, rising side by side and spreading widely, with the rising up of new Churches, new Schools, and the formation of new Missions, if our clergy had been employed in teaching our people *their duties* instead of Creeds and Catechisms? Seeing, then, these shortcomings and silly ritualistic doings of our National Church, is it not high time to effect a reformation in its teachings or to apply its vast revenues to more useful purposes? I must confess that, while entertaining the strongest repugnance to our present Church system, I would prefer an Act of Parliament for its refor-

mation rather than one for its disestablishment or its abolition, seeing what a glorious instrument for progress it might be made.

Christianity, as taught by Christ himself, appears to me to be a very plain, simple, and practical religion, which all who can read and rely on their own common sense may readily understand, without expounders or commentators It is, to "love God with all our heart, our soul, and strength, and to love our neighbours as ourselves;" on which two commandments, said Christ himself, "hang all the laws and the prophets." Now, in what better manner can we show our love to God, or to that great Power to which all suns, worlds, and all existences are to be attributed, and all laws for their guidance, and all means for their support and maintenance ordained, than by diligently seeking to acquire a knowledge of those wonders and existences, of the laws that govern and minister to their harmony, and in endeavouring to obey and live in accordance with those laws by every effort of our will? In what better way can we show our love to God than in seeking to promote the happiness of the creatures He has formed; and more especially of the most intellectually endowed of all His creatures, the being—man? Can we be said to love God when we allow man to be brought up in perfect ignorance of the wonders above him, around him, and within him; and to be reared up in the midst of our civilization a perfect savage, without even the virtues of a savage? Can we be said to love God when we allow millions of our fellow-creatures to pine in want and wretchedness, while abundant means for their comfort and happiness are wasted in our costly and mischievous institutions? Can we possibly perform the Christian duty of loving one another and our neighbours as ourselves, while all our political and social arrangements are made for securing the power, ascendancy, and luxury of the few, instead of the necessity, comforts, and happiness of all? Can we be said to love our neighbours, and at the same time be intent on preparations for destroying them—in taking men from their peaceful pursuits, uniting them at home and abroad for the purposes

of war and oppression, and in devising the most perfect instruments and schemes for their destruction—and for no other reason than that kings and rulers may maintain their power and ascendancy? In fact, the religion of Christ, of peace, love, and kindness, and of doing all we can to promote the happiness of our fellow-men is shown, by the practice of the greater portion of its adherents, to be a mere Utopia—a thing to be talked about, and made the subject of much eloquent cant, but too good for every day's practice. Hence, soon after its nativity, priests, scribes, and rulers set about to make it more in accordance with their own interests, by gradually blending with it hearsay opinions and fabulous matter foreign to its purity. Subsequently the relics of paganism formed a part of Christian worship, as well as Judaism, or the laws and customs and the recorded sayings and doings of a half-savage people; and these old Jewish records have ever formed texts, incentives, and apologies for barbarities innumerable, opposed to the religion of Christ. War has ever met with countenance and apology in these old records, despite the assertion of Christ that his mission was one of peace, brotherhood, and forgiveness of injuries; and slavery, bigamy, concubinage, oppression, vindictiveness, and cruelty have countenance and apology in their pages. And, in our own day, what is the Christianity sought to be established in our Protestant churches? Is it not to set up anew the old Pagan and Papal decorative sensuous religion? a religion in which ornamental crosses and altar-pieces, candles and incense, fine windows and splendid vestments, shall serve to captivate and gratify the senses, while musical intonations, bowings and genuflections, metaphysical sophistry, foppery and folly, shall captivate the reason. Such progress, too, towards Catholicism has already been made in our country as to call forth the congratulations of the Pope! The establishing of convents and monasteries is openly advocated by some of our Protestant Churchmen, and priestly confessions practised by others; and, if the united voice of reason is not soon proclaimed against these mischievous follies, and some practical means adopted to check

it, we shall soon have the worship of saints and relics, and the sale of indulgences, promulgated in our Protestant churches by the degenerate sons of our great forefathers who effected the Glorious Reformation.

I have already stated that I am strongly opposed to what is called disestablishment, or to the notion of having the greater portion of the immense revenues of our Church and our numerous churches and cathedrals divided up between the different religious parties into which our Church is at present divided. For such would only enable them more effectually to build up a priestly domination in each of them : to aid them to disseminate and perpetuate among their flocks gorgeous worship, stupid forms and ceremonies, sour and narrow creeds, bigoted prejudices, and sectarian animosities, instead of the broad and beneficent doctrines of love and brotherhood and universal charity taught by Christ. I am also desirous of seeing the vast numbers of educated men belonging to our Church Establishment, who are not tainted with the follies of the day, employed in the glorious mission of teaching and training our people, morally and intellectually, to aspire to a higher and nobler life ; helping them to progress onwards in all that can be made to improve and dignify humanity, and exhorting them to live together in peace and harmony instead of being split up into different sects, each content in perpetuating their own contracted views, in nursing their own spiritual pride, and in binding down the minds of their followers to the creed and notions of their particular church. If we had a Church truly National, governed *by the whole people* through Parliament—its principles and laws clearly laid down, the duties of its ministers clearly defined, and all of them intent on enlightening our people and teaching them their moral and religious duties—we should have a Church loved for the good it diffused through the land, and one that would broaden in its religious sympathies, and its benevolent and enlightened teachings, with the progress of opinion and the spirit of the age.

It is under our Church system as it is, however, that the

education of our people has hitherto been chiefly entrusted ; and the Church party now boast that " she has *two-thirds of the Voters of England under her direct teaching*, and that it will be her own fault if she do not imbue them with her principles and secure their allegiance to her cause."* This boasting, however, comes with a very bad grace from the Church party, when we know how resolutely at first they opposed all education of the common people, under the plea that it would create a spirit of independence among them, and lead them to disregard their pastors and masters and those placed in authority over them. But when they failed to prevent the spread of education, then it was that they bestirred themselves to set up rival establishments, so as to direct the stream of knowledge *churchwards*. We have seen, from the Education Commission Report, how defective their teachings have been ; vast numbers of their schools having failed to give even the simplest elements of knowledge to their pupils, notwithstanding the large amount of money they obtained from the educational fund. Since the Government have bestirred themselves to establish a National System of Education we have seen how the clerical party have striven to mar it, or to make it an instrument they can turn to their own interest. And this rivalry and proselytizing of church and chapel will continue until education is made general and secular, and *free to all our people*. But to effect this the Working Classes should bestir themselves, and resolve to have vote and voice in determining how their children shall be educated. Failing to do this they should organize themselves and take the education of their children into their own hands, which they could effectively do by a very trifling payment weekly, a plan for doing which I submitted to them upwards of thirty years ago.

* See the Monthly Paper of the National Society, for June, 1873.

CHAPTER XXI

Having prepared a set of diagrams for the illustration of natural history while I conducted the school in Holborn, I thought I might now, in my leisure time, be able to prepare a text-book for the teaching of this important science to children; as well as to aid my working-class brethren to acquire it. I thought at first to confine it to the vertebrated animals; but, as I proceeded with my task, I found the subject so important that I determined to treat of the invertebrated animals also. In giving but a brief account of some animals, and their distinguishing characteristics, the subject has swelled out to a larger bulk than I at first anticipated; but thinking it would be imperfect if further abridged, I have persevered as I began; which was to give somewhat full particulars regarding each sub-kingdom, class, order, genera, and family, with a concise account of each animal and its known habits. In the prosecution of this work I have hitherto laboured about four years, and it is far from being finished; and if I live to finish it, I cannot see my way to its publication. I am now in my sixty-fourth year, and from my weakly constitution cannot expect to live many years; but while I live I must keep doing something, though it be but trifling. I know not what, indeed, I should have done for many years past for my subsistence had it not been for the kindness and munificence of my friend, A. B., who has continued to me a part of what he allowed to the school in Holborn, though I have been enabled to render no other services for it than in teaching elementary physiology and anatomy at St. Thomas Charterhouse Schools, which I did at his desire, and taught there between seven and eight years. My friend was also so very kind to me that he would not re-

ceive the money I obtained from the sale of the desks and school property when the schools were broken up, but insisted on my putting it in the bank against a rainy day. Such kindness, indeed, has been rarely witnessed towards a stranger as that which I have received from my noble-hearted friend. But while I know that all this kindness is extended towards me freely and ungrudgingly, it does, however, jar upon my feelings to think that, after all my struggles, all my industry, and, I may add, all my temperance and frugality, I cannot earn or live upon my own bread in my old age. Perhaps few persons have worked harder, or laboured more earnestly, than I have; but somehow I was never destined to make money. When I was in work my earnings were never great, and, consequently, I could never save much. The few pounds I was able to save at various times, tempted me to venture into business on three different occasions, but all my ventures proved failures. Perhaps I had not the tact and talent for business, and perhaps my ultra-political principles were much against my success.

Some time has now elapsed since I made an entry in this book, my time having been taken up in teaching and in writing my Natural History. During this time the gigantic war in America has been brought to a close, but not to that peaceful settlement of affairs that I think it would have been brought to if President Lincoln had lived. Happily, by his noble conduct, and the determined energy of the men of the north, the poor negro has been freed from his bonds and can no longer be bought and sold in the market. But as long as he is placed politically or socially at the mercy of his former masters, they will hate him and use him much the same as the planters of Jamaica have their former slaves. They will grind him down, and oppress him by local laws and unjust combinations; and when they have goaded and maddened him to rebel, they will delight in hunting, hanging, and destroying him, as the *twenty million rewarded planters* of Jamaica have recently done. Fortunately for the poor American negro, as well as for the cause of humanity and justice,

a great number of the representatives of the North are true to those principles, but they are thwarted in their efforts by President Johnston, and by many of his government, and whether the contest now taking place between them will end in giving negro-hating despots the power of again rebuilding slavery in some form or other, or will end in the determination of the people to crush it out for ever, is for the future to solve. And this contest between the representatives of the people and their President in America, as well as the recent contest between the right divine King of Prussia and the Prussian Parliament, and of the perjured doings and despotic acts of Louis Napoleon, brings forcibly before us a very serious and important question—*Of what real use or benefit to a people are emperors, kings or presidents?* There are times, doubtless, that occur in many states, when a man, fitted to perform a particular duty, might be wisely placed in the position to perform it, unfettered by those who are not so qualified, as Washington was by the American people, or as Lincoln was when he proved himself worthy of their confidence. But the question most important for the consideration of a nation is—not that an individual may not be appointed to perform particular duties, but whether when placed in that position he shall possess the power to control and mar and run counter to the wishes of the nation, and turn its power and resources to his own advantage—power to foment foreign or domestic quarrels—power to plunge a nation into war—to prevent just laws and wise measures—and set at defiance the wishes of the people, as expressed through their representatives? The people of most civilized countries have won for themselves, after many struggles, the great principle of representation, and the establishing of one or two assemblies or houses of parliament, the representative principle being more extensively practised in America than in any other country. This assembly, parliament, congress, or whatever other name it may assume, so appointed by the people, should, in my opinion, be *the sole controlling power and head of the state.* In most civilized

countries, heads of departments are appointed by the king, or head of the state, such as the Minister of the Home Department, the Minister of the Colonies, the Minister of War, &c. These men, and the persons under them, perform the *real executive duties of the government*, as the representatives of the nation perform *the duties of legislation*, and the devising of means for the support of the state. Seeing, then, that these men—usually called the *ministry*, or the government—really do perform the work of the state, and are more or less responsible to parliament, why should not parliament have the power of appointing them, and of making them responsible to them alone, and through them to the whole nation? And why should not the concurrence of the majority of such ministry, in any general measure of national policy or execution of the law, be as effective, if put forth under the seal of the state, as if they were signed by a king or president, and counter-signed by ministers? Such ministers, too, would be more likely to be the *élite* of the nation in wisdom and intelligence, if chosen by parliament, and responsible to them alone, than if they were chosen by a king, or president, from among his partisans and supporters, or from among the factions he delighted to honour and uphold. The expenses of emperors and kings, and the lavish expenditure of court forms no inconsiderable items in the balance-sheet of most nations; but these are trifling when compared to the evils which these useless state appendages have inflicted and continue to inflict, on the nations of the world. What is the tale history unfolds to us of the proceedings of emperors, kings, popes, princes, and rulers, from time immemorial? Is it not a long catalogue of wars, contentions, and cruelties abroad, and of persecutions, waste, profligacy, exactions, and poverty for the masses at home? Here, on the one hand, we have seen an individual's pride or obstinacy kindle the flame of war, and by the choice of reckless ministers involve a country in expense and loss incalculable—there a despotic, cunning schemer obtains the power, through perjury, of making a state-paid army his tools for the

enslavement of the nation—there a pompous king asserts his divine right of governing and setting his parliament at defiance—and so throughout the world have nations been kept in submission, and constrained to do the bidding of individual despots, which their own, or their father's follies originally set up in authority over them.* I know most of the courtly arguments in favour of those state chieftains; such as the necessity of concentrating the national will in one person as an executive head—of the benefit of united energy and power free from conflicting councils—of the necessity for individual despotism on great and important occasions, etc. To all of which I would reply —that inasmuch *as one man* seldom possesses the knowledge, the wisdom, and the experience *of many*, we have a better chance of ascertaining the best mode of achieving any given object, of arriving at the truth on any given question, of reconciling different and conflicting interests, and of acting justly for the whole nation, *by consulting many men*—and these men enlightened—than in trusting to one individual, and that individual often ignorant, self-willed, conceited, and ambitious of securing his own ends and aims. But some urge the necessity for a king or president to refer to in cases of war, as if the deliberation and judgement of the majority of the ministry would not be preferable to that of a single individual. Others contend for the necessity of an executive head to dissolve or prorogue parliament, or call it together, as if all such matters could not be provided for by an Act of Parliament, and carried

* While we in England have a very expensive government, we have escaped numerous evils for many years past by having a very worthy and intelligent woman for our executive ruler; aided also as she was for many years by a very intelligent and worthy husband; yet it requires very little foresight to perceive that there are evils arising from kingly power, and aristocratic rule to be dreaded in the future, beyond what Englishmen have had yet to grapple with. Even in Republican America the appointment of her President is a gigantic evil. For what a revolution it occasions in the peaceful pursuits of men; what contentious feelings and apprehensions it awakens, and what immense means of bribing are afforded him, in giving him the right of appointing almost every officer in the state.

out by the Minister of the Home Department for the time being. Nations, however, like individuals, are fast progressing in knowledge ; they have already in some of them seen the necessity for limiting the power of their rulers ; for placing various checks to control them, and in some for setting aside the arrogant titles of kings or emperors, for that of *president*, and they will doubtless some day see the necessity for dispensing with them altogether. Nations, I believe, once freed from kings and emperors would seek to live in peace and amity with one another. Disputes would doubtless arise between them, but being free to act they would soon come to some peaceful mode of arbitrating and settling their differences ; for we all know how generally adverse the people of a country are to war, unless indeed the *war spirit* is first excited by false reports and representations, and they are hounded on by the interested tools and organs of government. Instances might here and there arise when people and rulers entered into war with equal energy, as in the late war in America, as their very existence as a free government depended on the issue, for it was a question of the supremacy of slavery or freedom. But war has ever been the sport and hobby of kings, and conquest and dominion their greatest delight ; and what misery and wretchedness, what holocausts of lives, what destruction of property, and what mountains of debt bear testimony to their doings ? But they are equally the enemies of progress and human happiness in *war or peace.* Every effort that may be made by their own people, or by those of the nations round them they can control, in favour of liberty, in favour of free speech, a free press, or in favour of obtaining a greater share of the blessings of their own industry, these state chieftains regard as treason and rebellion against themselves, and relentlessly strive to crush it in the bud. Why have those great and evident blessings, the liberty of the press, the right of freely speaking and writing men's thoughts to one another, the right to make and freely exchange their productions, and the right of having voice and vote in the making of the laws they are called upon to obey been of so slow a growth ?

Is it not that those kingly rulers and their aristocratic abettors have warred against them for centuries, and are still warring with all their envenomed hostility and terrible power? Under the plea of protecting from foreign enemies the countries they rule over they have gradually accumulated the most formidable means for keeping their own people in subjection. The possession of those means and instruments of destruction gives birth to the desire and excuse for using them, and hence the wars they have fomented. These warlike powers they have gone on augmenting in all the nations of Europe till the annual expense for supporting them has outrun the power of many of them to pay; and constant indebtedness, frequent loans, and increased taxation—often beyond the power of their people to pay—is their condition from year to year. And where, as in our own country, the energies, industry and economy of our people enabled them to produce an annual amount of wealth unexampled in the world's history, and thus enable them to bear up under those great burdens, is it not at the sacrifice of comforts which our toiling millions ought to share in, and in the perpetuating of debts for our posterity, that it is monstrously unjust to contract? We call ourselves a Christian country! boast of the Christian truths we spread through the length and breath of the land, and of our great efforts to spread them among the benighted countries of the world. We also vaunt of our high civilization, and of the spread of knowledge, morality, and religion among our people; and yet with all this Christian feeling, morality, and intelligence we spend about *twenty-eight millions annually in warlike preparations*.* The so-called Christian and civilized nations of Europe have been engaged for years past in devising the most deadly instruments for destroying one another, without a Christian doubt being raised by bishops or clergy against the wickedness of it, or of any attempts being made for staying the insane, immoral, and anti-Christian folly.† A sceptic observer might be disposed to

* We spend also £25,500,000 for interest on the debt of former wars.

† There are no fewer than 6,220,000 men under arms in Europe,

think that they were all interested in the increase of vice and wickedness throughout the land, seeing that they were paid so well to preach against it; and that if they began to work in earnest, and to strike at the root of the evil among the great and powerful, these annual crops of vice and misery would not be forthcoming, and then their occupation would be gone.

The subject of the extension of the suffrage has again occupied the attention of the country for several months past, and though the modicum of political power proposed to be given to the working classes is but partial, compared to what it ought to be, it has excited the strongest feelings of opposition from ultra-Whigs and Tories. But the age of political exclusiveness, and aristocratic rule has seen its zenith, its decadence is beginning, and whether it shall gradually fall and silently moulder away, or be precipitated like an avalanche into the valley of political oblivion, will depend on the conduct of the ruling few to read the signs of the times clearly. The working millions are beginning to perceive the rights that belong to them, and to feel the power they possess; and when they begin to unite and organize themselves for peaceably securing them, their rights will soon be realized. Numbers, however, of the reading and reflecting part of them, perceiving that the chances were few of their ever obtaining their political rights, or the means of comfortable support for themselves and families under our aristocratic rule, have already flitted to other countries; and numbers of others are

and the yearly cost of men and armaments is upwards of £500,000,000. —Speech of I. W. Pease, M.P., May 21, 1867.

Russia's contribution to the French Exhibition was a monster cannon, every shot it fired costing 5000 francs, and warranted to kill 500 men per shot.—*Star*, March 30th, 1867.

A formidable cannon, weighing 100,000 lbs., has been cast in Prussia for the Great Exhibition, but its weight has given rise to some difficulty in transporting it, the railway directors being afraid of the damage it might do to the line.—*Public Opinion*, March 30th, 1867.

The Chassepot ball inflicts a small hole on entering the body, but on the opposite side it tears away the flesh to the size of a man's hat.—*Star*, August 27th, 1868.

looking to America, Australia, and other countries as havens of refuge where the labourer is welcomed, where comforts await him, and where he will be placed on a footing of political and social equality with others, and acknowledged as a man, and to those countries they are hastening as fast as they can collect the means to convey them thither. Vast numbers of men, in my time—the most thoughtful, useful, and thrifty of our countrymen—have taken their departure, and are now enriching, and rendering powerful other countries; and the stream of emigration will continue to flow until justice is done to those who remain. The scarcity of labour is beginning to be felt, and will soon make a great change in our country, and this, perhaps, our rulers may see when too late. The remedying, however, of this state of things will chiefly depend on the future wisdom of our working classes, coupled with the just feelings of the middle classes, for the aristocratic few will never learn wisdom till it is too late. Among the most hopeful signs of our day is the disposition evinced, and example set on the part of some of our capitalist and manufacturers to co-operate with, and to share the profits of their establishments with their workpeople. These experiments, if justly carried out on both sides, cannot fail of being productive of the best results, and of bringing about that great desideratum—the union of capital and labour in the work of production, with *a unity of interests*—for, with that union the salvation of our country will be peacefully secured, whether it be effected by the working classes on their own account or by other classes co-operating with them. Such a system of co-operation would do away with the strife between capital and labour, and effect the saving of vast means that are now wasted. It would also give the workman increased means of comfort, and awaken his perceptions to the necessity for increased industry, knowledge, and thrifty habits, and for the necessity of higher and nobler acquirements, and for taking more enlightened views of his country and his race. The influence of the more enlightened and experienced persons united with him in

the undertaking is also likely to be more effective in doing away with the evils of drunkenness, waste, and improvidence that unhappily prevail among them, than when they had separate and opposing interests; and the intelligence and good conduct of their associates are likely to be effective examples. But, to return to the subject of the suffrage, and the claims of the working classes to possess it, and to have a fair share in the election of representatives, these are numerous and unanswerable. They and their forefathers have converted our land of swamps, bogs, and forests into a blooming garden. Our roads, rails, bridges, and canals bear witness to their mighty labours. Our towns and cities, villages, and hamlets were raised chiefly by their skill and labour; and by their industry are daily supplied with every necessary for the wants and comfort of their inhabitants. Our ships, that traverse every ocean, attest their industry, and bear witness to their skill and daring courage. Our trade and manufactures exhibit their inventive and constructive power, and attest their skill, ability, and plodding industry throughout the length and breadth of the land. Their labours have given wings to trade and commerce, which convey the means of happiness to millions in every clime, and will eventually serve to cement the nations of the world in bonds of brotherhood. And if these testimonials to the right of suffrage fail to convince a haughty few, they can display a long list of right noble names, "of Nature's true nobility," to render contemptible those who, often without merit, were christened and *called noble* by the voice of kings and princes.

I have just completed my work on "Zoology for Schools," which has taken the best portion of my time for the last six years. It has been to me a work of immense labour; though, on attempting the task, I could not boast of much scientific knowledge of the subject; but in teaching it in my school I felt the necessity of some such work, and I thought I might glean an amount of information, suited to my purpose, from authors who never designed their works as school books, acknowledging, of course, the

source from wherever I obtained it. Dr. Gray, of the British Museum, gave me several books, and lent me several others, which were of great service to me. He was kind enough also to look over my manuscript, and to express himself favourably respecting it. I begin, however, to think that I have been labouring in vain for many years past; for, having consulted several publishers, either personally, or through my esteemed friends Mr. William Howitt, and Miss Eliza Meteyard, I cannot get my Zoology or Geology published; some of them saying that the one is too voluminous, and that the other would be too expensive to get up; and some do not care to print them, as science is not much taught in our schools.* I, however, submitted them to several practical teachers, as well as to scientific friends, and I was encouraged by them to think that my works might be useful, but I laboured without a due consideration of the means of bringing them before the public. Well, I laboured for the best, and must bear my disappointment with patience. I now begin to believe that I should never have got my "Elementary Anatomy and Physiology," nor my "Social and Political Morality" printed, if I had depended on the publishers; for who among them would have cared to bring out the works of an old Chartist? It so happened, however, that at the time they were published I had the means of paying for the printing of them myself; and thus, of giving the public the opportunity of judging of them, as well as enabling me to introduce the teaching of physiology into our Birkbeck Schools.

After I had finished my Zoology—not liking to be idle—I wrote a little work, entitled, "The A B C of Social Science in Twenty Lessons, addressed to the Working Classes by a Working Man." This I was induced to write from the singular notions on the subject often circulated among working men. Here, too, the want of means prevented me from printing it, for Social Science for schools is not a subject to tempt publishers, even if you offer it

* Two kind friends at Manchester also sought to procure a publisher for me in that town.

for nothing, which I did. This little work may be said to have had its origin in the teachings and writings of my estimable friend Mr. Wm. Ellis, for it was he, who, many years ago, first pointed out to me the value of this important science, and urged me to the teaching of it in my schools, he having given the first lessons. During the summer of 1868, I, however, got Mr. George Potter, the editor of the *Beehive*, a working-class paper, to print my social science in it weekly, a lesson each week. About the same time I also commenced writing for the *Beehive* a series of papers entitled, "Memorandums for Future Reformers."

CHAPTER XXII

In the beginning of 1869 I had another severe attack of bronchitis, and during the time I was confined to my room I employed myself in making a model of a *District Hall*, or permanent voting place, as well as the model of a *Self-Registering Ballot Box*, both of which were intended to illustrate a cheap, just, and efficient mode of electing Members of Parliament. For by the present expensive method of electing them few working men's candidates would have a reasonable chance, nor would poor yet competent candidates of other classes; whereas by my plan the only expense they need incur would be *the paying for their own printing*. When the *People's Charter* was published in 1838, I made a rough sketch of a Self-Registering Ballot Box, and the interior of a District Hall, for the front page, but I had no leisure before the time stated to make models to show their operation. My friend Mr. Allen made for me a working drawing for the Hall, and a Mr. Keissler, a German, made for me part of the mechanism of the ballot-box. The model of the hall took me about three months to complete, and when finished I was permitted to exhibit it in the South Kensington Museum, but unfortunately the Council would not allow me to exhibit the ballot-box side by side with it, to show its operation. I think it was considered by them too political.

The following description will convey what it is intended to illustrate by these two models :—

"That for the purpose of obtaining an equal representation of the whole people in the Commons House of Parliament, and for preventing as far as possible the undue influence of great and wealthy families, or of individuals who would seek to control the voter in his choice,

the United Kingdom be divided into a sufficient number of *Electoral Districts*, each containing, as nearly as may be, an equal number of inhabitants, and each returning *one Representative* to Parliament and no more.

"That all persons of legal age, sound mind, and untainted by crime, who have occupied any house, lodgings, or apartments in a house, for three successive calendar months, be eligible to vote for the representative of the district they live in, and for no other.

"That preparatory to every General Election the Returning Officer of the district should cause *a printed form* to be sent round to every householder in the district, requesting him or her to fill up the same with the names of all persons of the age of twenty-one, or upwards, who shall have resided there for three months or more; and from which forms, when returned, he should cause a list of electors to be made out. That after proper publicity being given to this list, he should hold open Courts of Adjudication in his district for the purpose of hearing and deciding on all objections, and from the list thus revised he should cause a *Voter's Certificate* to be sent round to every person qualified to vote.

"That to secure Members of Parliament possessing high intelligence and good moral character, all persons seeking the high honour of legislating for a nation, or for filling any other important office of state—should be required *to pass an examination*, showing that they possess the requisite knowledge and ability, and should *hold a diploma to that effect* before they should be entitled to offer themselves as candidates, or take their seats in Parliament, or be appointed to any important office.

"That *the knowledge requisite for Members of Parliament*, or for other important offices, should be clearly set forth in a special Act of the Legislature, and the mode pointed out by which persons seeking such high honour, or place of trust, should present themselves before *Public Examiners*, which Government should appoint to meet at stated times and places; and all persons who should prove their ability and fitness before such examiners, according to the said

Act of Parliament, should receive from them a diploma to that effect.

"That every nomination for a Member of Parliament should be made by *a written requisition*, delivered to the Returning Officer, and signed by at least one hundred electors belonging to the district, who in recommending their candidate should be required to certify to his moral character, and also that he holds a *diploma* of having passed an examination, proving that he possesses the requisite knowledge and ability required by law.

"That to prevent all undue influence, bribery and corruption in the election of Members of Parliament, the votes of the electors should be taken by *Ballot*. The present expensive, unjust, and bribing mode of *canvassing for Members*, should be abolished by law, and persons punished for having recourse to it. All Committees, or other meetings, for the election of Members held at *public-houses* should be done away with, as having heretofore been the cause of much undue influence, drunkenness, riot, and disorder.

"That to do away with the present disgraceful and costly mode of electing Members of Parliament, which excludes *the Representatives of the Working Classes*, and of all other persons, however competent, who have not the means of purchasing their way to power, it should be the duty of Parliament to enact that a sufficient number of *District Halls*, or commodious buildings be erected in every voting district to be used as permanent hustings or voting places, which may be used, when not needed for the elections, for the purpose of public meetings, lectures, evening schools, concerts, or other district purposes. That all candidates for seats in Parliament should *have the free use of such halls* during the election, such as the use of the large hall below, or the balcony and ground in front—from which to address the electors in their turn—and the use of the Committee Rooms above according to lot; so that the only expense needed to be incurred by Members would be that of printing their own bills and circulars. The erection and repair of such halls should be paid for by the inhabitants of the

district and managed by them, as well as any income arising from the letting of them.

"That previous to the day of any Parliamentary Election, the managers should cause the large room in each District Hall to be fitted up with movable fittings: and should provide a sufficient number of *ballot-boxes*, one for each of the candidates nominated, and formed on a plan for securing secrecy of voting, as well as for *registering each vote given*, so that the Deputy Returning Officer might be able to announce the state of the poll at the end of the election, without the great disadvantage of counting the votes.

"That the Returning Officer of each district should be required to appoint a *deputy* for each voting place on the day of election, to see that the voting is conducted orderly and fairly, and to cause all persons to be arrested that attempt to vote unfairly, or seek to promote disturbances. It should also be his duty to provide the accredited friends of the candidates with seats immediately behind him, where they might see that the voting is conducted properly. He should also show them the register of each ballot-box before and after voting, and should cause the correct numbers given for each candidate to be posted up outside the building.

"That every elector entering the hall on the day of election should be required to show his voter's certificate to the Registration Clerk, and if it be found correct he should be allowed to pass on towards the voting place, and receive from the deputy's assistant a balloting ball, when he should enter the balloting place, and with all dispatch drop it into the box of his favourite candidate; the name and colours of the candidate being placed on each box to guide him. After he has thus given his vote he should pass out of the balloting place by another door, where a turn-table and officer should be placed. The table before the deputy, outside the screen, should be on an inclined plane, and the channels from the balloting boxes so arranged that the ball, in whatever box deposited, should roll down the middle of the table in front of the deputy

to be ready for the next voter, and thus, should any elector make use of any other balloting ball than the one given to him, it would roll out and lead to his detection before he left the room.

"That any person convicted of registering himself in more than one voting district, of forging or using any forged voter's certificate, of trying to vote in any other district than his own, of trying to vote unfairly or injuring the ballot-boxes, or of going from house to house or place to place to canvass for the votes of electors, or in any other way contravening the Electoral Act, should for the first offence be subject to one year's imprisonment, and for the second imprisonment and the loss of his electoral rights. Also that any candidate employing persons to canvass for him, or should seek to secure his election by bribery, or by intimidating or using any undue influence over an elector, or otherwise contravening the Electoral Act, should be subject to one year's imprisonment and the loss of his seat for the first offence, and for the second imprisonment and the loss of his electoral rights and disqualified for ever after to sit in Parliament.

"That in order to obtain properly qualified persons as legislators, men disposed to devote their sole time and attention to their Parliamentary duties—instead, as at present, often dividing their time between their private business and their Parliamentary duties, or in regarding their seats as passports to fashionable society—Members of Parliament should be paid for their services by a writ on the Treasury the same as any officers of state."

A very important reason for the adoption of this plan, for electing Members of Parliament *free of expense*, or nearly so, is this—that Members at present are too often disposed to forego their own honest convictions to support a ministry, and often to back them up against the opposition in support of measures they dislike, as they fear a change of ministers and a dissolution, from the enormous expense they are likely to incur, whereas if elections were inexpensive they would be independent.

The newspapers announce this morning the death of one of Nature's unthroned kings and high priests of humanity, Charles Dickens, one that can be badly spared from among us when so much remains to be done, and one whose equal for good to society will not I fear be readily found. Fortunately Mr. Dickens was a man whose kindly heart beat in unison with a keen intellect and a well-furnished head ; so that while his searching perception left few things to escape his glance, his noble sense of duty led him to expose everything corrupt, unjust, mean, or hypocritical. In his own inimitable way he has perhaps done more to expose wrong and injustice and to improve society socially and politically than any other writer or worker of the present century ; at least he had few to equal him in the good work. His happy description of the *Circumlocution Office* and " how not to do it," was a blistering application that the thickest official hide could not but have felt severely ; and the scathing doubtlessly did much good as an official stimulus to action and as a corrective of many abuses ; although great numbers of *the barnacle tribe* still stick very tightly to our state vessel. His lucid expositions, too, of our vast social misery and wretchedness in close contact with luxury, waste, and superfluous grandeur, and his kindly and graphic pictures of the heroes and worthies of humble life have done much to arouse people to a sense of duty and to a great amelioration of the evil, although not to the extent desired ; for so great is our social misery, and so indifferent to it are so many people, that the lessons of duty need to be as frequently repeated and as earnestly enforced as they were by Charles Dickens. Nor was he forgetful of the higher duties of morality and the duties of true religion, for scattered through his numerous works may be found moral lessons and practical sermons, more truly religious, pathetic, and heart-piercing than ever bishop devised or priest delivered.

In 1870 I was requested by the Secretary of the Alliance to write a few articles for their paper. Having been a member of that body from the first, and believing the drink traffic to be one of the greatest of our social and

political evils, I complied with his request, and several of my articles appeared in their paper. One of them they sent to the Social Science Congress then sitting at Newcastle. In this article I endeavoured to show my working-class brethren that no general permanent increase of their wages can possibly take place without a general increase of capital, or rather of that portion of it that is paid in wages. That every increase of capital, especially in the hands of the working classes themselves, would give them more employment and better wages ; and that every wasteful diminution of capital would give them less. That were the working classes to economize and save what they now extravagantly waste in intoxicating drinks—consisting of nearly a hundred millions annually, besides the annual expenditure necessitated by drink-made paupers and criminals—there would soon be employment for all, and a great increase of wages. That a very little reflection must convince them that, if this immense sum were saved and annually added to the capital of the country and employed, as most of it would be, over and over again in the work of production, instead of being drunk and wasted year after year, that our unemployed would speedily find work at good wages, and the cost of most necessaries and comforts greatly cheapened by reason of their increase and abundance. To this state of things, coupled with the increased intelligence, the economical habits, and improved tastes that sobriety would be certain to engender, there would soon be abundance of capital flowing from the ranks of labour, as well as the knowledge to make a wise application of it.

Alas ! there is now another terrific war raging between Germany and France, and is rendered more terrible and destructive by the new inventions and improvements recently made in this accursed art. This war, originating in the restless ambition and jealous feelings of the Emperor of the French, and urged on by the mercenary tools dependant on his will, made an unprovoked attack upon the German people, with the object doubtless of preventing that unity of their conflicting elements which patriots of

all opinions among them have so long desired. This unjust interference with the rights of a people very naturally called forth the whole warlike power of the nation to repel it, and so rapid and successful were their movements that the tide of war, which was sought to be carried on to their capital, was speedily rolled back upon the soil of France. Battle after battle soon proved the power and superiority of the German armies; and after a series of bloody contests, marked by the destruction and misery of thousands upon thousands of lives, the Emperor of the French and a great part of his army were obliged to capitulate, and one town and fortress after another yielded to the victor, till at last Paris itself was surrounded by German armies. The chief originator of the war having been captured, and a provisional government formed in Paris, of men who opposed the Emperor and repudiated the war from the beginning, they naturally wished to put an end to the contest. But here again the ambition of kingly power came in to thwart it: the king of Prussia and his nobles, not content with having driven the enemy from their soil, and to have proved their warlike superiority in many battles, but they now wanted a large portion of the territory of France, in addition to an enormously large indemnity in money—and that without regard to the wishes of the inhabitants, and in opposition also to a considerable portion of the German people, whose leaders and organs were despotically silenced for declaring against the injustice. In this predicament the French people have resolved to defend themselves to the last, and the German Government would seem resolved to crush them; what will be the result time must show.*

But, pending the settlement of this destructive contest, is there no lesson to be derived from it? Is there none that the people of Europe can learn from it that may be profitable for their future welfare? Seeing the misery and wretchedness that one ruler has originated and another is perpetuating, will they still content themselves with placing

* An heroic resistance on the part of some, defiance by others, and a sad and reckless ending, after great sacrifice of life; and to be conquered, after all!

royal and despotic rulers at their head, to be continually involving one country or another in war, misery, and ruin? when, if their own *free Parliament, composed of freely chosen representatives, were alone the supreme head of the country*, the just interests and welfare of the whole people would soon lead them to devise the peaceful settlement of every national quarrel. Will the productive classes of Europe still continue to keep up the competitive race their rulers have been so long pursuing, in providing more and more expensive armies and navies, and more and more destructive means of killing one another? And that, too, while they talk of Christian brotherhood and advancing civilization? These *standing armies* and *powerful navies* are not only standing menaces to incite nations to war, and ready tools in the hands of any unprincipled ruler, but are a profligate waste of the productive capital of the people of the various countries—perpetuating a state of poverty and misery among them. During the present century there have been upwards of fifty of those terrible wars among the so-called "Christian nations of the world," people whose professed creed is one of peace, brotherhood, love, and charity among all mankind; and, during these horrible contests, who can estimate the number of lives that have been sacrificed, the millions of money that have been wasted, the multitude of children that have been made fatherless, the homes that have been rendered desolate? The armies of Europe alone at the present time are said to be composed of *seven millions and a half of men*, and to cost about *two hundred and sixty millions annually*—an amount of men and money which, if employed productively, would bring joy and happiness to millions of homes, where poverty and misery now crush down their inmates.* And for whose benefit and advantage is all this expense, profligacy, and waste? Why, to support a few royal or imperial families in pomp and power; to give them and their aristocratic satellites military toys to play with and boast of; to keep up titled and privileged

* The *Times* of Feb. 21st, 1859, said that the cost of our own army is just £10,000 a day. Think, working men, what this sum would do for the improvement of our country.

orders, to the exclusion of worth and merit; and to *keep the toiling millions in subjection.* Rulers and statesmen, as well as legislators, are undoubtedly needed in all countries for the maintenance of order, and for securing, as far as possible, life, property, and freedom; and who is better to do this than *representatives freely chosen by the whole people,* together with the *ministers* or the heads of departments and the chief officers that they may appoint, and who should be responsible to them? And this without the useless expense of royal cyphers or despots, to sign their names to public documents; to appoint pliant tools to suit their purposes, in every important office; to thwart by intrigues and vetoes the laws and wishes of the people's representatives; and to embroil their people in war and misery, through their pride, ambition, or dynastic relations. War, I believe, will never cease in the world till the rule and destinies of nations are placed in the hands of the people's representatives.

The great want in the present day is, I conceive, to do that *for all the Nations of the World,* that has been done for *the individual people of all civilized countries* namely, to bring *all nations*—as individuals have been brought—within the influence and operation of *Law,* and of a superior authority to control them, whether the nation be great or small, strong or weak. The first requisite to this end would seem to be a Congress of Nations, composed of Representatives from all civilized countries, to devise a *Code of International Law,* which, without interfering with the Constitution, Law, or Government of any country, should *declare war to be a crime,* which all nations hereafter will unite to prevent, as well as to punish its instigators. Such Code should also provide laws for the peaceful intercourse of the people of all nations, by sea and land; and, while accepting the present boundaries of nations, should declare against all aggressions of any one nation on another; also to provide for the peaceable settlement of all disputes by arbitration; and should also determine what force should be retained as a police, available for the enforcement of their decisions. In connection with this

Code should be established a *Standing Court of Adjudication*, composed of representatives from every civilized nation; who should arbitrate on all national quarrels that may be brought before them, according to the Code agreed to, as well as to enforce their decisions should it be found necessary—an act that is never likely to happen, as any rebellious nation would know that all nations would unite to punish it for violating the Code of Nations.

My old friend Mr. Howitt has just sent me a very interesting letter from Rome, where he is now residing. He gives a graphic account of the old city and its environs, and of its walks, sites, and curious things. He tells me also that the obstinate old Pope is silly enough to believe that the Queen of Heaven will yet work a miracle in his favour, and restore him to his former temporalities and power.

I have also had a very pleasing visit this day from my friend Miss Meteyard. I had a long and interesting conversation with her on books, as well as on the present state of things—for she is a keen politician, as well as a clever biographer and imaginative writer, and possesses a great variety of knowledge on most subjects. She is also one of the most worthy, industrious, and persevering of women; and has had a very struggling and anxious battle to maintain herself and her old aunt in respectability and comfort, for the last quarter of a century, since I first made her acquaintance. She is the well-known author of the Life of Wedgewood, "A Group of Noble Englishmen," "Sacred Spots of Ancient London," and very many tales and imaginative works.

My friend, Mr. Maughan, has just called to inform me of the sudden death of my old friend, Mr. John King, of Eden Grove, Barnsbury, one of the oldest of my acquaintances, and one of the staunchest to principle and truest of men. Poor man, it was only on my last birthday, I being then seventy-one, that he reminded me that I "was getting near the end," without suspecting that his own end was so near, or would be so sudden.

The sudden death of my friend King has been immedi-

ately followed by the sudden illness of another old friend, Mr. Matthew Allen, of Tabernacle Walk, the clever designer and builder of the "Improved Homes for the People." The first of these he built for Sir Sydney Waterlow, and since then a great number for the Company for Building Improved Homes. Mr. Allen has a genius for designing and constructing; for, in addition to his Improved Buildings of various kinds, he has made great improvements in the heating of places by means of hot water, and was the first to construct an over-house telegraph. The homes he has designed and constructed are not only better adapted, more convenient, and more ornamental than those that were first erected under the name of "Model Lodging Houses;" as, from his flat roofs, his mode of construction, and a patent kind of stone which he uses, they are made much cheaper than those previously built, and pay from five to ten per cent. on the capital invested in them: a great incentive to builders and capitalists to build improved dwellings for the people, which are very extensively needed. Mr. Allen has raised himself by his genius, and by his industrious straightforward conduct, from a journeyman bricklayer to his present comfortable position; and I hope that his health will be preserved for many years.

Not wishing to be idle this winter, for I could not venture out from my cough, I amused myself in making for my friend Allen a little model of his Improved Dwellings situated in Leonard Street, Shoreditch.

We seem now to be approaching a crisis in our parliamentary affairs, for retrograde Whigs and Tories seem resolved to thwart and delay every effort made in favour of progress, by speaking against time, and wasting the sessions in useless obstructive talk, so much so that Mr. Gladstone has been obliged to give them a serious lesson.

As, however, these tactics are almost sure to be renewed, it will be well for the liberal majority to legislate so as to prevent the evil. Let them adopt the wise and simple measure of *timing their speakers*, and in making the House one for legislative business instead of vain talking and party squabbles. With the exception of time for the ex-

position of a budget, or for any important explanation from a minister, or for any member introducing a motion, *an hour* would seem to be ample, and a *quarter of an hour* for other members speaking for or against it; and when in committee a far shorter time. Members should also begin their work early in the morning, like other men of business, and should be impressed with the necessity of concluding at a reasonable time. As for the obstruction the Lords are often making—the best remedy, short of doing away with hereditary legislation altogether, is for the Commons to declare that any Act *passing twice*, in the usual way, through the House of Commons shall be the law of the land, whatever obstruction may be pursued by any other branch of the Legislature.

On calling, to-day, on my friend, Mr. Serjeant Parry, he saw that old age had deprived me of my teeth, when he was kind enough to give me a letter to his dentist requesting him to make some for me. This great kindness of his I cherish with grateful feelings, although it is only one of numerous other generous acts I have received from him during the many years I have shared his friendship; for during thirty years or more he has invariably sent me a turkey, or a pair of fowls, for my Christmas dinner, and has otherwise shown the greatest generosity and kindness towards me, both in sickness and health.

I have lately been induced to join the Land Tenure Reform Association, of which Mr. John Stuart Mill is chairman; also the Working Men's Peace Association; and the Anti-Game Law League: all admirable Associations, and well deserving of support. I regret, however, that I am now too old and feeble to render them any personal service, and I am too poor to aid them with money, unless to an infinitesimal extent.

My friend, Mr. Thomas Beggs, to whom I am indebted for many acts of kindness, invited me and my wife this summer to visit him at his very pretty residence at Shortlands, in Kent—where we had often been before—to meet our respected friends from Birmingham, Alderman Goodrick and his wife. We passed a pleasant time there, for

Mr. Beggs is not only a hospitable host but is also a man of considerable intellectual abilities and much information, and our friends, the Goodricks, are also very pleasing intellectual people ; Mrs. Goodrick especially, being a lady of rare acquirements. She is also a member of the Society of Friends.

A Member of Parliament having given notice of his intention to propose the extension of the use of the *Cat* for certain offences, and my outspoken and courageous friend, Mr. Peter Taylor, having given notice of a motion for doing away with that torturing instrument altogether, I was induced, at the request of friends, to put forth an Address to Social and Political Reformers on the subject. In this I endeavoured to show that the reintroduction of brutal punishment was a retrograde step, injurious to social progress. That all punishment should be free from vindictiveness, and such as are calculated *to deter or reform* (and in the spirit of that Christian charity we profess) ; and that, as flogging in Army and Navy has greatly been abolished, and that with benefit ; and as flogging—and even death-punishment—have failed to deter persons from the commission of heinous crimes, our legislators should direct their attention more to the sources of our social evils, *with a view of preventing them*, than in devising modes of brutalizing and torturing punishments. I also endeavoured to show that brutal punishment only excites and strengthens the *animal propensities* of our people, which we should aim at keeping in abeyance, and at the same time seek the more general cultivation of the *intellectual and moral faculties* by the adoption of a wiser system of education ; and also by the removal of temptations from among them, especially of intoxicating drinks, which, according to our Judges and Magistrates, form the chief source of crime and misery.

Hearing lately that my old acquaintance, Mr. Stansfeld, was about to bring forward a measure for *Improving the Sanitary Condition of the People*, I wrote a letter to him containing a plan which I had put forth in the *Beehive* about three years before It was to this effect: that as

the chief and greatest obstacles to the sanitary improvement of our towns and cities are the large number of miserable streets, courts, and alleys that abound in them—places often of the filthiest description, where the lowest of our population crowd and often pay high rents—places where their health and morals are injured—where disease is constantly being engendered, and from which it spreads its contagion everywhere around—that as these places mostly belong to town authorities, the magnates of the parish, or persons of great local importance, Sanitary Inspectors very generally fear to meddle with them. Therefore, in order to remedy so great an evil, an Act of Parliament is necessary, to empower capitalists, bodies of philanthropists, or working men, to obtain leave to erect on those sites lofty, spacious, and healthful homes for the people, or making a fair compensation to the owners of such property according to the decision *of a jury*, in a manner *similar to what is now done by Railway Proprietors*. And in order that no inferior or improper building should be erected on those sites, the persons willing to build (before they obtained power to take possession) should deposit with the Board of Works, or other recognized authority, plans and drawings of the buildings they intend to erect. Mr. Stansfeld wrote to me, requesting me to call on him, and in going through the matter he quite agreed with me regarding the desirability of removing those wretched places, but he thought that Parliament would not be disposed so far to interfere with the rights of property. So it would appear that the "rights of property" extend to the right of poisoning our people, and of preventing real improvement in our towns and cities, and erecting dwellings for those that most need it, and Parliament, as at present constituted, will not interfere. But a remedy will surely come, some day.

And now, as the end of my story is approximating, let me say a few last words to my working-class brethren. Persevere then, I would entreat you, in all peaceful efforts for the reform and perfection of your Social and Political Institutions, and reckon no labours nor sacrifices too

great for the attainment of your objects ; for on these will depend the prosperity and happiness of yourselves and country. Those who would divert your minds away from politics, and from lending your aid—however humble—to reform, or to do away with extravagant, useless, and corrupt institutions, and to secure just government, aiming at the happiness of all classes, you may safely regard as the *enemies of progress ;* as you may, also, all those who would urge you on to the attainment of those objects by violence and deeds of blood ; for not only are men's hearts hardened and brutified by such barbarous process, but changes thus effected are, in most cases, only changes of one set of oppressors for another. Not that I would urge you to be silent and passive under great wrong and injustice ; for, if the enemies of progress seek to block up every avenue through which the people may peacefully obtain the reforms needed, or to stay our national progress by the sword, or to get enemies to invade our country in the interests of party or faction, then your duty to your children and your country demands that you link yourselves together like a band of brothers to repel them—not by tumult, threats, and fury, but by calm heroic resistance, and a resolute determination to achieve your country's freedom or perish in the attempt. Do not, however, be led away from pursuing a peaceful and just course by any foolish fears of invasion, which those who profit by war are so anxious to excite ; but should an enemy approach your shores, think no sacrifice too great to repel him.

Examine also, coolly and deliberately, all social and political questions before you espouse them or try to create a public opinion in their favour ; for when so much remains to be done for the upraising of our people, you should not waste your energies on vain theories, impractical measures, nor in empty threats or denunciations. All such doings, therefore ; and all talk about the condemnation of capital—which is the heart's blood of an industrial nation—all denunciations of property ; or foolish threats of confiscation, tend to social discord and alarm ; and to cause all

those who possess property to place it if possible beyond the reach of danger and to flee to despots for protection, as the least of evils; and it should also be remembered that, in all social commotions, it is the poor and innocent that first suffer. Large accumulations of capital, and a vast amount of wealth, have doubtless, in many instances, been acquired by injustice; but in seeking a remedy we should be wise as well as just, for the stability of our whole social fabric would be greatly endangered by any attempts to interfere with *the just rights of property*. The true remedy will lie in such peaceful and efficient reforms as shall prevent such *unjust* accumulations in future, and to prevent such masses of wealth from being made instruments of oppression and injustice.

One of the most prominent of our national evils—productive of exclusive legislative power, great social injustice, poverty and misery—is the vast accumulation of that land, which God gave as a common heritage to all His children, in the hands of a few persons; and these few claiming the right to regard it as their own absolute property; to cultivate it or not as they think proper; to convert vast portions of it into deer-runs and game-preserves; and to sweep away the human occupants thereon as so many vermin. We have recently had many modes proposed for dealing with this monstrous injustice, which it behoves us coolly to examine; but evidently the most simple, as well as the most just, is to do away with those laws and usages which have chiefly led to this unjust accumulation, such as *the laws of primogeniture and entail;* and, at the same time, legally to compel landowners and others, at death, to divide their land and other property equally among their children. But in order to prevent the extreme division of land—which might lead to the wretched cottier system—provisions should be made that no division of land should be made less than acres, or a moderate workable farm which one family could cultivate. In addition to which long leases should be given to tenants; the land should be made to contribute, by taxation, a far larger amount than at present to meet the national expenditure, as one of

the conditions for holding it ; * and the waste lands cultivated, or given up to the State for the employment of our criminal and pauper population. Joined to which should be a law for the register of all landed and household property, and a simple and inexpensive transfer of estates ; and for selling off all such as are greatly encumbered. By such just and peaceful mode our land would, in comparatively a few years, be divided into small or moderate-sized farms ; a larger number of persons would be interested in the defence of our country ; our waste lands would be utilized, our landed aristocracy would be more usefully employed, and the stimulus afforded by security of possession would cause the land of our country to be more highly cultivated than it is. Under such a system we should have a free trade in land, and co-operative or individual farming might take place as either might be found most advisable. The *nationalization*, or ownership of the land by Government, which some persons suggest, would, I conceive, be attended with great evils ; for the present landholders could not be justly dispossessed without fair indemnification, which would necessitate an enormous addition to our debt ; in addition to which the State would make but a very indifferent landlord, and the vast revenues, power, and influence it would derive from the land would make it independent of the people, and would give it a host of land surveyors, collectors, and other officials to support its power. If too *communistic views* were acted on—that the land should belong to, and be administered solely by, the *Commune*—it would only be a reduction of the evil within narrower limits ; and from what we have hitherto experienced of municipal and parochial government in minor affairs, it does not augur much in favour of communal government for such a purpose. And this brings me to the subject of *co-operation*, about which so

* While France pays in land tax £23,509,000, out of a general taxation of about £41,509,000, England only pays land tax to the amount of £2,350,000, out of a general taxation of £76,617,000—a convincing proof that the landowners of this country have had the making of the laws.

many conflicting notions are entertained: some of them rational, and all important as remedies for our social evils, and some very unwise, and projects no ways to be hoped for, even if practical. The useful and desirable kind of co-operation is *to combine capital and labour in the work of production*, so that there shall be *a unity of interests*, instead of the present conflicting ones, which at present lead to so much social contention and such waste of capital and labour. This may be carried out in various ways; either in the cultivation of the land, in mining, in the establishment of manufactories, the carrying on of trade and commerce, the building of houses, ships, railroads, and other objects. Unhappily, the great obstacles at present in the way of those achievements are, selfish, unwise, and despotic feelings on the one hand, and ignorance, unthrift, jealousy, and disunion on the other. The holders of land and the possessors of capital are, for the most part, too proud of their position and their wealth to interest themselves in striving to solve the great social question—how shall all the resources of our country be best applied so as to administer to the happiness of all our brethren? and a large mass of our people are so intent in obtaining bread from day to day, or intoxicating drink, or a few sensual enjoyments, as to be apathetic to the social and political reforms required, such as the most active and intelligent portion of their brethren are zealously seeking to obtain for them. For this ignorance and apathy, *the most dangerous of social evils*, as have been often seen in revolutions on the Continent, our clergy and exclusive rulers are mainly responsible; the former for having been intent on teaching creeds and catechisms to our people in place of their moral and religious duties, individual, social, and political; and the latter for legislating mostly for party interests, for wasting our country's resources in war and war establishments, for the support and aggrandisement of the few; while they have left the mass of the people in ignorance, and every temptation in their way to allure them the downward road to poverty, vice, and crime.

The kind of co-operation which I conceive would be productive of great social evil, is that known as *socialism*: a species of co-operation founded on a community of property. I have, in an earlier part of my story, stated that I was formerly prepossessed in favour of this notion, and I have there given my reasons for abjuring it. I had much to do with co-operation in former years, and have known and conversed with persons who have been connected with most of the experiments made to establish communities both in Europe and America; and the result has been to convince me that their general establishment would produce a kind of social despotism far worse than any that now exists; and that it would be a sacrificing of the highest intellect, of the greatest inventions and discoveries, and of the best capacities and powers of the most industrious, to the least competent, the selfish, the careless, and the indolent. In addition to which, I regret to say that many of the socialists of a former day entertained very loose opinions on the subject of the sexes and of marriage; and many cases of separation, and great unhappiness occasioned thereby, fell under my own observation. Our present marriage system is bad enough as it is: for the state and condition of women under our present laws is a kind of social slavery, binding them in complete subjection to men, with no property they can call their own; nor, *if poor*, any escape from the most savage brutes, the most drunken spendthrifts, or the most wily of domestic persecutors. But while this system needs great reform, or the doing away with such laws as sanction *inequality*, or which gives man any unfair advantage over woman, any alteration in law or opinion that would tend to weaken that most sacred of all agreements and obligations would, I believe, be one of the greatest of all social calamities. And here let me advise you, that no reform that *law can effect*, to strengthen this holiest of social ties, will be equal to that which is in the power of the husband alone to achieve. That is, to endeavour to cultivate in his wife a concord of mind, of hopes and aspirations in his pursuits, as he would seek to secure her heart

and affections. This is a work that should commence as soon as their faith is plighted, and may often require much patience, labour, and sacrifice; but the man who has resolved to make his home his haven of happiness, and to secure the best and truest of friends to advise and counsel with him, as well as to sympathize with him in his cares and troubles as no other will, will not spare his labour to cultivate, as far as he is able, the mind of his wife; to strive to interest her in his business or pursuits, and to allow her to share in all his pleasures.

Another most important subject, that should engage the serious attention of working men, is the employment of *married women* in our factories; which I think reflects anything but credit on our manufacturing population, masters and men. For every reflecting person must perceive that children cannot be properly brought up without the careful nurture and superintendence of the mother; nor can a man's home—in which his chief happiness should be centred—be much other than a mere resting place or nightly refuge when the wife is taken from it to labour, too often to supply the man with mere sensual enjoyments. It is a folly therefore for such men to talk pompously of right and justice for themselves, while their wives and mothers of their children are thus treated; nor indeed, until they are placed upon a footing of equality, socially and politically, with themselves, and to occupy the station for which they are best fitted. Women, however, unmarried, or without husbands to support them, should be at liberty, equally with men, to earn their living in any business they choose.

Aim also, I would beseech you, to secure a proper education for your children; either by seeking to improve the present system, or, failing in that, by taking the matter in your own hands, and to establish a just system by co-operative effort. The education you should aim at is not merely the old routine of reading, writing, and arithmetic, or such mere technical knowledge as shall enable your children to become more efficient tools of production; but such as shall serve to prepare them to stand

on a footing of equality with all others ; and possessed of such knowledge, and such moral training, as shall fit them for a life of industry and usefulness, so as to be a blessing to themselves and their country. To this end they must not only be able to read and write and cipher, but to acquire some knowledge of their own nature ; of the world they inhabit ; of the existences they are surrounded by ; a knowledge of the conditions of social and political life, and rules of conduct on which their well-being chiefly depends ; together with the outlines and rudiments of science, which form the foundation of those arts and manufactures that contribute to the prosperity and happiness of our country. In the pursuit of those attainments there should be little difference made between boys and girls, seeing that women are destined to have the first and chief hand in moulding the minds and character of our people ; excepting that girls should be taught at school to make and mend their own clothing, and to cook their own food : qualifications of the first importance to promote the well-being of a family.

Another great essential you should aim at, is the establishing of libraries and reading-rooms, in sufficient numbers, in different districts of your towns and villages, to which the young and old of both sexes should have free access after the labours of the day ; as well as to borrow books from them to take to their homes ; as also to have some share in the management. In addition to which, you should aim at establishing halls of science, where the young might extend the knowledge they acquired at school or obtain a more extensive knowledge of any particular science. Our museums and galleries of art should also be freely accessible to the people ; and at such times, too, when they may best be able to attend them ; and if large halls were connected with them, and men of science and art employed to give daily lectures on their contents, they would form schools of instruction of the first importance to our people.

Seeing, also, the great deterioration that is fast going on among the rising generation owing to most of their recreations and amusements being connected with public-houses,

which have spread so extensively within these few years throughout the length and breadth of the land; and seeing, too, the great obstacles in the way of progress which the drinking habits of our people occasion, you should above all things aim to remedy this monstrous evil; and to secure rational and healthful amusements for the young, apart from the means of intoxication. Taking into account the physical and mental injury produced by the poisonous intoxicating compounds drunk by our people, the vast amount of social misery they occasion, and the great extent of vice and crime that can be clearly traced to their use, you should not fail to consider and weigh the consequences of this great evil, socially and politically, and the great waste of capital it occasions. You have been making great efforts for a number of years past to improve your social position by obtaining higher wages, or a larger share of the productions your labour helps to create; but while you have been carrying on these contests, you have been spending the largest portion of *a hundred millions annually* in intoxicating drinks, exclusive of the great amount of capital you have frequently been obliged to waste in your efforts to obtain a rise of wages, or to prevent a fall of them. Now, as no labour can be put in motion *without capital*, or, in other words, without materials, tools, and the means of subsistence for the labourers, every waste of it will diminish the employment of labour, and every increase of it, especially *in the hands of the producers themselves*, will occasion an increased demand for labour. The most obtuse among you may perceive that if the hundred millions of capital that is thus annually wasted could be added *year after year* to the present amount that is now paid our labourers in wages, that a vast change would soon be produced in their favour. You can readily perceive what a vast demand for productions of various kinds would take place if the money now spent in drink were only spent in decent furniture, comfortable clothing, good food, and the necessary requisites for housekeeping, among the working millions of our country. But far beyond this benefit, for giving employ-

ment and better wages, there are many others of greater importance. The great social want in the present day is the union of capital and labour in the work of production, with *a unity of interests*, and this great saving would soon enable you to effect it; or if you prefer to put your savings in some savings bank, you could enjoy the interest thereof, and have the best security against ever needing the miserable workhouse, when slackness of work, sickness, or old age, come upon you. Who can fail to perceive that drunkenness is a great obstacle in the way of progress, socially and politically? In your trade associations and unions, tipplers and drunkards are the first to shirk their payments, to mar your peaceful objects by their brawls and misconduct; the first to desert your cause and go over to the enemy; and otherwise by their drunken conduct, and neglect of home and children, to bring disgrace upon the general body. *Politically*, they are even worse enemies to progress, as their love of drink drowns all regard for the welfare of their country; causes them to seize with avidity the bribe of the enemy, and to be ready tools to fight, or drown by noisy clamour, the best efforts for the improvement of their country, for a paltry modicum of drink. These evils should awaken the most thoughtful among you to a sense of duty, and should induce you to band yourselves together to discountenance in your fellows this love of drink, and to join in all efforts for removing this great temptation from among you. For you must remember that this is a growing and spreading evil at home and abroad; that publicans, gin-sellers, and brewers are all powerful for evil; and that while you and the well-disposed of other classes are making strenuous efforts to reform abuses, remove evils, and to build up your liberties, these men and their drinking tools are doing all in their power to mar or prevent all social and political progress. It is an evil, however, that sooner or later must be coped with, and the longer it is postponed the more difficult will be its solution. Year after year it is eating deeper and deeper into the heart of the nation, producing its annual crops of pauperism, vice, and crime; and

paralysing the best efforts of all those who are seeking to enlighten and improve mankind. Every year adds new victims to the seductions of the drink traffic; gives increased wealth and legislative power to those who flourish by it; and enables them to defy all efforts for the mitigation or removal of this great and intolerable curse from among us.

On the subject of Religion I have already given my opinions, and therefore shall confine myself to a few last words. I regard, then, as *true religion* that teaching which is based on the great and broad principle of human brotherhood, of reciprocal Christian duty, of mental freedom in the pursuit of truth, of love and kindness for the whole human family, and of the necessity for each and all of us doing all in our power for the mental, moral, and physical elevation of our race. Such a religion—founded on the great commandment of love to God and man—would, in my opinion, be one of the most efficient means for building up society upon the foundations of right and justice; for calling forth, promoting, and disseminating the love of knowledge; for purifying and elevating mankind by pure morality and ennobling aspirations; and for being a faithful friend and guide to the erring children of humanity; helping so to improve and direct their conduct in this life, as shall render them more worthy of the next.

You may be assured, then, that all teachers of religion who neglect those great and truly Christian principles of man's elevation and improvement are *not truly Christian*. Those who, banded together as a church, or as a Christian community of any kind, seek to dominate and subject to their will the minds and consciences of men; who seek to amuse and interest them with gaudy ceremonials, vain repetitions, creeds and catechisms; who preach to the multitude eternal patience under wrong and injustice; side with their oppressors in the perpetuation of the evil and, wink at wickedness in high places, are not true Christian teachers, whatever name they may assume. But those who aim at the mental and moral elevation of our race, and at

the same time use their power and influence for the physical improvement of all, *are worthy of all honour;* they being the true imitators of the Great Teacher, who in His day laboured for the poor and oppressed, who went about among them doing good, and who denounced wickedness, hypocrisy and injustice.

Remember that the highest *Christian duty*, the highest *moral duty*, as well as the highest of our *political duties*, all point to the same great end—that of improving and perfecting our fellow-creatures intellectually, morally, and physically, so that they may be enabled to enjoy the highest amount of happiness in this world, and be better prepared for the enjoyment of the next. The Christianity, morality, and political philosophy that fall short of this great aim are only delusive shams, upheld by cant, special pleading, and hollow promises, and which can only end in perpetuating the reign of ignorance, demoralization, and wrong, and in consigning the vast majority of our toiling millions to a life of poverty, care, and anxiety, in order to support and pamper a comparative few in the excesses of luxury and extravagance. It surely cannot be religiously or morally right that mostly all the means of enjoyment in this world shall be monopolized by a few, and that chiefly by "those who toil not, neither do they spin;" that the land of a country which God gave in common to all should be held by a few great families; and that because their ancestors were great buccaneers, who stole it from our ancestors a few hundred years ago, and the possession of which they have secured as far as possible by laws of their own making. Nor can it be a satisfactory state of society when the mass of our people are held in a kind of social bondage by a few great capitalists, against whom they are always warring for subsistence; as they must, in most cases, do their bidding or starve, and more especially when trade is bad, and markets over-glutted. It is surely time to put an end to this social strife in the work of production, and not to allow of a state of things to which we are fast hastening, when all the great capitalists will swallow up all the little ones, and when all the machinism and

inventive powers of our age shall be engrossed and used chiefly for their benefit; with the lamentable results of making a few great millionaires on the one hand, and a nation of toiling, poverty-stricken slaves on the other. For the competition between labourers, with their continually increasing numbers, will always give a power to capitalists to keep down wages to the lowest subsistence point, and especially of unskilled labour. Even among skilled workmen the strife of competition is fast producing similar results, notwithstanding their unions to prevent it. We have seen the operation of this system in our day, and how the swarms of Irish labourers—driven from their country by their landowners—have brought down the wages of Englishmen, in field or factory, or wherever unskilled labour is needed. In America the same system is producing similar results, although somewhat retarded by their great extent of land, and demand for labour. There they have not only the cheap labour of Ireland, Germany, France, and other countries, to keep down a fair rate of wages, but have recently added to these swarms of Chinese and Coolies from other countries. And we, too, have been lately threatened by our capitalists with an importation of Chinese labourers.

Some pious defenders of this state of things will doubtlessly tell you that this world is only intended by God as a place of toil and trial, in which your chief duty is to prepare yourself for a future state. This specious doctrine, my friends, is not genuine Christianity; nor do those who preach it practise it themselves, for they generally manage to get the lion's share of good things *in this world*. A true Christian regards his fellow-man as a brother, to whom he wishes to act as he would be done by; and as he would not, if possible, permit a brother to be kept in ignorance, and to be placed in such wretched circumstances as are almost certain to mar the good within him, and consequently to blight, if not destroy, his chance of enjoying the future they talk about, so will he labour with all earnestness to improve his brother's lot, and to make this earth more in accordance with heaven. In fact, the present state of

society, with its mere money-getting and sensual aspirations—with its adulterations, trickery, and cheating in trade and commerce—the constant strife and contentions of its labouring classes to obtain a subsistence—its recklessness, drunkenness, and waste—its mass of squalid misery—and the callous indifference of our legislators to provide a remedy, demand with trumpet voice that all earnest, thoughtful men should seriously begin to look beyond the professions of Churches, Sects, and Parties, to the GREAT RELIGION OF DUTY; this being the only religion that can build up the moral man to subdue his animal nature; that can awaken his duties to his brethren; that can form the great cementing power to unite man to man in social fellowship; that can cause nations to prosper by the establishment of justice at home and abroad; and above all, by its being the religion that Christ enjoined for promoting the happiness of man.

Remember also, I implore you, that all just and efficient government must depend *on the intelligence and virtues of the great mass of our people*, as on the possession of these qualities will depend the kind of men that will be chosen for representatives and rulers; and on these will depend the liberty and prosperity of our country. For if the wisest and best are neglected, and the mere shams of wealth, title, and pretensions, are elevated to place and power, whatever changes we may have, or whatever name our Government may assume, it will be fruitless of benefit to the mass of the people. And although ignorance, improvidence, and vice still unhappily pervade the ranks of our population to a lamentable extent, it yet greatly lies in the power of the most intelligent of our working and middle classes to enlighten and improve that unhappy portion of their brethren. For let them but organize and band themselves together for the purpose of their instruction, social and political; let them but exhibit examples of sobriety and orderly conduct, in their own persons, their homes and families, and sternly set themselves against the demoralizing influences that surround them, and the work of reformation will be gradually, but surely, effected. Un-

happily we live in an age when the vast accumulations of wealth, which our new discoveries and productive powers have conferred upon our race—but which, hitherto, have chiefly been monopolized by the upper and middle classes —are for the most part spent in luxury and excess, and in administering to mere sensual gratifications ; the one class of them striving to ape the other in all their extravagance and folly, and each striving to outvie his neighbour in his finery, equipages, and profusion. This state of things has, unhappily, a corrupting and deteriorating influence on society, not merely by the force of pernicious example on all classes, but by wasting means that ought morally and religiously to be applied to the rescuing of millions from a life of poverty and misery, and for the social and political improvement of our people. To stem this current of pernicious example must be the one great aim of Reformers ; for while they should urge on their brethren the necessity of having healthful, tasteful, and neatly-kept homes, and well-clad and well-instructed families, they should urge on them at the same time the virtues of temperance, frugality, and the saving of present means for the time of sickness, accident, old age and infirmity ; and for enabling them to lend an efficient hand in the social and political reformation of their country.

Another point to which I would direct the attention of my brethren, is the necessity of their acquiring *equal electoral rights in all matters* with that of others. The people at large, I conceive, in any part of the country, who have a fixed habitation, and help to support the State, should be allowed equal electoral rights with those of householders and landlords. Not only in the election of Members of Parliament, but in that of School Boards, and of all Municipal and Parochial Officers. The giving of electoral power exclusively to householders (for the difficulties in the way of Lodger Suffrage have rendered that a nullity), because they pay rates and taxes, is a manifest injustice ; as those who occupy a habitation and pay rent for it help the householder or landlord to pay his rates and taxes. In most cases, too, they contribute more largely ; for they often

help to keep him as well as help him to pay his rates and taxes. Justice therefore demands that all who contribute, *directly* or *indirectly*, to the support of our social or political institutions, should have an equal right in choosing the persons who are to direct or manage them.

As also the ultimate cost of every kind of waste and extravagance must be borne by the industrious and saving part of the community; and as the ultimate results of every kind of vice and profligacy help to create burthens for them to support; it becomes the duty of the industrious classes, above all others, to raise their voices against gambling, horse-racing, betting, and all kinds of vicious extravagance; not only as a waste of the capital necessary for giving them profitable employment, and for promoting their happiness, but for their demoralizing influence on those they are striving politically and socially to improve and elevate. Unhappily, those annual saturnalian revels of horse-racing, betting, gambling, and drunken disorder—which had their origin in the low pursuits and gambling propensities of the idle and demoralized portion of our titled and wealthy aristocracy—have, like a foul and muddy torrent, flowed downwards to create a moral pestilence among the unreflecting of all classes of society. Nay! so contagious has been the evil, that even among those who pride themselves on their "respectability," are found persons who take their wives and daughters to witness "this racing and betting frenzy;" where, in close contact with drunken roughs, slangy sportsmen, showy courtesans, and fighting, roaring, and rampant brutality, they cannot help witnessing scenes and sounds repugnant to all female delicacy and moral propriety. So much so has this attractive vice of horse-racing, with all its vile accompaniments of betting and gambling, taken possession of the public mind, that even in the Legislature its wealthy and aristocratic patrons have influence enough to stay all legislative proceedings while they go to that carnival of vice and profligacy, the Derby—"A time," says Goldwin Smith, "when men, women, and boys are invited to gratify the vile delights of gambling; mostly to their demoralization, and

often to their ruin." Thus "from high to low the demoralizing influence spreads, contaminating in its course the sporting nobleman, the turf-bitten manufacturer, the gambling shop-keeper, and betting publican, down to the stableman, costermonger, and pot-boy who foolishly club their five shillings or half-crowns, in imitation of their betters, to risk upon a horse-race." Our aristocracy and wealthy classes pride themselves on being the *élite* of the nation, and on the refinement and improvement they effect in society by their high culture, superior manners, worthy deeds, and noble examples; but they cannot suppose that those whom they call "the vulgar herd" are so blinded by the glitter of wealth or title as to believe that racing, betting, gambling, battues and pigeon-shooting, are evidences of culture or merit; or that such doings are very bright examples for the multitude to imitate. That many thoughtless and weak-minded ones among them do this, however, is greatly to be regretted; and therefore to the reform of those social vices the most intelligent of our brethren should divert their attention. They must not, however, rely on this or any other great measure of reformation coming from, or being achieved by, the classes above them, for they are generally the opponents of all reform; and that often from the most mistaken notions. Most of the reforms that have taken place in my day have been won rather in despite of the wealthy and titled classes, than owe to them their origin; though they might at last have been made the unwilling instruments for carrying them into effect. So long, therefore, as those who are aiming at cheap and just government, help by vote or voice to place persons who have neither interest nor sympathy with them in the position of representatives or rulers, so long will they be *putting obstacles in their own path.* The industrious classes, therefore, would do well to remember the wise fable of "The Lark and her Young Ones," and resolve to do their own work themselves; and that by choosing representatives from their own ranks, or from those of other classes who like themselves are seeking the removal of social and political evils, and the establishing of

freedom, peace, and plenty in our land ; and by otherwise aiding the great cause of human progress by every intellectual and moral effort in their power, and to work onward till their labours are crowned with success. And my working brethren should also remember, that *ignorance and superstition* are the two chief crutches which prop up and support every species of despotism, corruption, and error in every part of the world ; and against these, all who wish for the advancement and happiness of mankind *should ever war*. And they would also do well to reflect that, from the past history of this race, little or no improvement can possibly take place in *their social position* under the strife that is continually waging between capital and labour, until all persons interested in the prosperity and happiness of their country and their race unite to put an end to this strife, by establishing a system of co-operation for the production of wealth, founded on the mutual interests of capital and labour, and such distributed according to each person's industry, capacity, and intelligence—the whole based on mutual right and obligation, the highest principles of morality, and the religion of doing unto all as they could wish to be done by.

Having referred to my wife and children in the early part of my story, I deem it advisable to say a few concluding words respecting them ; as those who have felt any interest in what I have said, might wish to know something more about those who were dearest to me. And first of my dear Mary, whom I earnestly hope will outlive me, for the sake of my poor daughter and grand-daughter, knowing that the same watchful care and anxiety she has ever shown for them will ever be extended towards them while any mental or bodily powers remain with her. For though I would do my best, if unhappily they were left to my charge, I should be but a poor substitute for my over-anxious wife. To me my dear wife has ever been a second self ; always my best adviser and truest friend ; ever interesting herself, and sympathizing with me in all my pursuits, toils, and troubles ; and ever diffusing the sunshine of kindness and good temper in our humble home. I know

not indeed what kind of man I should have been, if I had not met with such a noble help-mate; and this I often think of with grateful feelings. She has borne to me two children, named Mary and Kezia. The latter—called after my dear mother—died in infancy; her death, we believed, occasioned by a fall off the lap of a sleepy nurse.

Mary, my surviving daughter, was born on the 9th of June, 1827, and married, at the age of twenty-two, Thomas C. Hytch, the son of a London carpenter. He is a compositor by trade, but having worked at Novello's for upwards of twenty years, in setting up the very small type used in music-printing, his eyesight became so weakened in consequence, that he was obliged to abandon his trade; and for several years past has maintained his family by keeping a tobacconist's shop. My daughter—having only one child—with a view of improving her position, devoted herself for some years to teaching, and to the keeping of a school, and very recently has taken to the stage; a step very much against her mother's wishes and my own, although I have no prejudice against the profession. She is an intelligent and clever woman, and is very sanguine of success in her new calling, but I would much rather she had devoted herself to her home.

My grand-daughter Kezia, was born in London, on July 24th, 1857, and has lived with us a great portion of her time, although she attends also to her father's shop when needed. She is a well-grown girl, fond of music, drawing and reading, and is not deficient of intelligence. I hope therefore that she will do well in life; that she will seek to acquire useful knowledge as a means of happiness, will always strive to be pure and good, and will aim at diffusing happiness around her.

During last winter—1875—I had another severe attack of my horrible bronchial complaint; and so severe was it, that I was not able to leave my bed for about eight weeks. During this illness I have to record, with grateful feelings, the kindness and generosity of friends, who not only supplied me with everything they thought would administer

to my recovery, but unitedly subscribed money to supply me monthly with extra comforts in my old age. I have therefore abundant reasons to be thankful to kind friends, and I hereby record my grateful acknowledgements to them.

APPENDIX A

Petition agreed to at the "Crown and Anchor" Meeting, February 28th, 1837

"To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland. The Petition of the undersigned Members of the Working Men's Association and others sheweth—

"That the only *rational use* of the institutions and laws of society is justly to protect, encourage, and support all that can be made to contribute *to the happiness of all the people.*

"That, as the object to be obtained is mutual benefit, so ought the enactment of laws to be by mutual consent.

"That obedience to laws can only be *justly enforced* on the certainty that those who are called on to obey them have had, either personally or by their representatives, the power to enact, amend, or repeal them.

"That all those who are excluded from this share of political power are not justly included within the operation of the laws; to them the laws are only despotic enactments, and the legislative assembly from whom they emanate can only be considered parties to an unholy compact, devising plans and schemes for taxing and subjecting the many.

"That the universal political right of every human being is superior and stands apart from all customs, forms, or ancient usuage; a fundamental right not in the power of man to confer, or justly to deprive him of.

"That to take away this sacred right from the *person* and to vest it in *property*, is a wilful perversion of justice and common sense, as the creation and security of property *are the consequences of society*—the great object of which is human happiness.

"That any constitution or code of laws, formed in violation of men's political and social rights, are not rendered sacred by time nor sanctified by custom.

"That the ignorance which originated, or permits their operation, forms no excuse for perpetuating the injustice; nor can aught but force or fraud sustain them, when any considerable number of the people perceive and feel their degradation.

"That the intent and object of your petitioners are to present such facts before your Honourable House as will serve to convince you and the country at large that you do not represent the people of these realms; and to appeal to your sense of right and justice as well as to every principle of honour, for directly making such legislative enactments as shall cause the mass of the people to be represented; with the view of securing *the greatest amount of happiness to all classes of society.*

"Your Petitioners find, by returns ordered by your Honourable House, that the whole people of Great Britain and Ireland are about 24 millions, and that the males above 21 years of age are 6,023,752, who, in the opinion of your petitioners, are justly entitled to the elective right.

"That according to S. Wortley's return (ordered by your Honourable House) the number of registered electors, who have the power to vote for members of Parliament, are only 839,519, and of this number only $8\frac{1}{2}$ in 12 give their votes.

"That on an analysis of the constituency of the United Kingdom, your petitioners find that 331 members (being a *majority* of your Honourable House) are returned by *one hundred and fifty-one thousand four hundred and ninety-two registered electors!*

"That comparing the whole of the male population above the age of 21 with the 151,492 electors, it appears that 1-40 of them, or 1-160 of the entire population, have the power of passing all the laws in your Honourable House.

"And your petitioners further find on investigation,

that this majority of 331 members are composed of 163 Tories or Conservatives, 134 Whigs and Liberals, and only 34 who call themselves Radicals ; and out of this limited number it is questionable whether 10 can be found who are truly the representatives of the wants and wishes of the producing classes.

" Your petitioners also find that 15 members of your Honourable House are returned by electors under 200 ; 55 under 300 ; 99 under 400 ; 121 under 500 ; 150 under 600 ; 196 under 700 ; 214 under 800 ; 240 under 900 ; and 256 under 1,000 ; and that many of these constituencies are divided between two members.

" They also find that your Honourable House, which is said to be exclusively the people's or the Commons House, contain *two hundred and five persons who are immediately or remotely related to the Peers of the Realm.*

" Also that your Honourable House contains 1 marquess, 7 earls, 19 viscounts, 32 lords, 25 right honourables, 52 honourables, 63 baronets, 13 knights, 3 admirals, 7 lord-lieutenants, 42 deputy and vice-lieutenants, 1 general, 5 lieutenant-generals, 9 major-generals, 32 colonels, 33 lieutenant-colonels, 10 majors, 49 captains in army and navy, 10 lieutenants, 2 cornets, 58 barristers, 3 solicitors, 40 bankers, 33 East India proprietors, 13 West India proprietors, 52 place-men, 114 patrons of church livings having the patronage of 274 livings between them ; the names of whom your petitioners can furnish at the request of your Honourable House.

" Your petitititioners therefore respectfully submit to your Honourable House that these facts afford abundant proofs that you do not represent the numbers or the interests of the millions ; but that the persons composing it have interests for the most part foreign or directly opposed to the true interests of the great body of the people.

" That perceiving the tremendous power you possess over the lives, liberty and labour of the unrepresented millions—perceiving the *military* and *civil forces* at your command—*the revenue* at your disposal—the *relief of the poor* in your hands—the *public press* in your power, by

enactments expressly excluding the working classes alone —moreover, the power of delegating to others the whole control of the *monetary arrangements* of the Kingdom, by which the labouring classes may be silently plundered or suddenly suspended from employment—seeing all these elements of power wielded by your Honourable House as at present constituted, and fearing the consequences that may result if a thorough reform is not speedily had recourse to, your petitioners earnestly pray your Honourable House *to enact the following as the law of these realms*, with such other essential details as your Honourable House shall deem necessary :—

"A LAW FOR EQUALLY REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

EQUAL REPRESENTATION.

"That the United Kingdom be divided into 200 electoral districts ; dividing, as nearly as possible, an equal number of inhabitants ; and that each district do send a representative to Parliament.

"UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

"That every person producing proof of his being 21 years of age, to the clerk of the parish in which he has resided six months, shall be entitled to have his name registered as a voter. That the time for registering in each year be from the 1st of January to the 1st of March.

"ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS.

"That a general election do take place on the 24th of June in each year, and that each vacancy be filled up a fortnight after it occurs. That the hours for voting be from six o'clock in the morning till six o'clock in the evening.

"NO PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS.

"That there shall be no property qualification for members ; but on a requisition, signed by 200 voters, in favour of any candidate being presented to the clerk of the parish in which they reside, such candidate shall be put

in nomination. And the list of all the candidates nominated throughout the district shall be stuck on the church door in every parish, to enable voters to judge of their qualification.

"VOTE BY BALLOT.

"That each voter must vote in the parish in which he resides. That each parish provide as many balloting boxes as there are candidates proposed in the district; and that a temporary place be fitted up in each parish church for the purpose of *secret voting*. And, on the day of election, as each voter passes orderly on to the ballot, he shall have given to him, by the officer in attendance, a balloting ball, which he shall drop into the box of his favourite candidate. At the close of the day the votes shall be counted, by the proper officers, and the numbers stuck on the church doors. The following day the clerk of the district and two examiners shall collect the votes of all the parishes throughout the district, and cause the name of the successful candidate to be posted in every parish of the district.

"SITTINGS AND PAYMENTS TO MEMBERS.

"That the members do take their seats in Parliament on the first Monday in October next after their election, and continue their sittings every day (Sundays excepted) till the business of the sitting is terminated, but not later than the 1st of September. They shall meet every day (during the Session) for business at 10 o'clock in the morning, and adjourn at 4. And every member shall be paid quarterly out of the public treasury £400 a year. That all electoral officers shall be elected by universal suffrage.

"By passing the foregoing as the law of the land, you will confer a great blessing on the people of England; and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

APPENDIX B

"THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER

"BEING A BILL TO PROVIDE FOR THE JUST REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT. REVISED AT A CONFERENCE OF THE PEOPLE, HELD AT BIRMINGHAM, DECEMBER, 1842.

"Whereas, to insure, in as far as it is possible by human forethought and wisdom, the just government of the people, it is necessary to subject those who have the power of making the laws to a wholesome and strict responsibility to those whose duty it is to obey them when made.

"And, whereas, this responsibility is best enforced through the instrumentality of a body which emanates directly from, and is itself immediately subject to, the whole people, and which completely represents their feelings and their interests.

"And, whereas, the Commons House of Parliament now exercises, in the name and on the supposed behalf of the people, the power of making the laws, it ought, in order to fulfil with wisdom and with honesty the great duties imposed on it, to be made the faithful and accurate representation of the people's wishes, feelings, and interests.

"BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED:—

"That, from and after the passing of this Act, every male inhabitant of these realms be entitled to vote for the election of a member of Parliament; subject, however, to the following conditions:—

"1. That he be a native of these realms, or a foreigner who has lived in this country upwards of two years, and been naturalized.

"2. That he be twenty-one years of age.

"3. That he be not proved insane when the lists of voters are revised.

"4. That he be not undergoing the sentence of the laws at the time when called upon to exercise the electoral right.

"5. That his electoral rights be suspended for bribery at elections, or for personation, or for forgery of election certificates, according to the penalties of this Act.

"ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

"I. Be it enacted, that for the purpose of obtaining an equal representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament, the United Kingdom be divided into 300 electoral districts.*

"II. That each such district contain, as nearly as may be, an equal number of inhabitants.

"III. That the number of inhabitants be taken from the last census, and as soon as possible after the next ensuing decennial census shall have been taken, the electoral districts be made to conform thereto.

"IV. That each electoral district be named after the principal city or borough within its limits.

"V. That each electoral district return one representative to sit in the Commons House of Parliament.

"VI. That the Secretary of State for the Home Department shall appoint three competent persons as Commissioners, and as many Sub-Commissioners as may be necessary for settling the boundaries of each of the 300 electoral districts, and so on from time to time, whenever a new decennial census of the people be taken.

"VII. That the necessary expenses of the said commissioners, sub-commissioners, clerks, and other persons employed by them in the performance of their duties, be paid out of the public treasury.

"REGISTRATION OFFICERS.

"Be it enacted, that for the purpose of procuring an

* There are, say 6,000,000 of men eligible to vote. This number, divided by 300, gives 20,000 to each member.

accurate registration of voters, for finally adjudicating in all cases of objections made against persons claiming to be registered, for receiving the nominations of Members of Parliament and Returning Officers, and declaring their election; as well as for conducting and superintending all matters connected with registration, nomination, and election, according to the provisions of this Act the following officers be appointed :—

"1. Returning Officers for each electoral district.

"2. Deputy-Returning Officers for each district.

"3. A Registration Clerk for every parish containing number of inhabitants, or for every two or more parishes if united for the purpose of this Act.

"RETURNING OFFICER, AND HIS DUTIES.

"I. Be it enacted, that at the first general election after the passing of this Act, a Returning Officer be elected for every electoral district throughout the kingdom, and so in like manner at the end of every year.

"II. That, at the end of every such period, the returning officer for each district be nominated in like manner, and elected at the same time as the Member of Parliament for the district; he shall be eligible to be re-elected.

"III. That vacancies occasioned by the death, removal, or resignation of the returning officer, shall in like manner be filled up as vacancies for Members of Parliament, for the unexpired term of the year.

"IV. That every returning officer shall appoint a deputy-returning officer, for the day of election, for every balloting place within his district, and in all cases be responsible for the just fulfilment of the duties of such deputies.

"V. That it be the duty of the returning officer to appoint a registration clerk for every parish within his district containing number of inhabitants, or for every two or more parishes if united for the purposes of this Act; and that in all cases he be responsible for the just fulfilment of the duties of such clerks.

"VI. That he also see that proper balloting places, and

such other erections as may be necessary, be provided by each parish (or any number that may be united) and that the balloting-boxes be made and provided according to the provisions of this Act.

"VII. That he receive the lists of voters from all the parishes in his district, in which lists shall be marked or specified the names of those persons who have been objected to by the registration clerks or any other persons.

"VIII. That between the first of April and the first of May in each year, he shall hold *open* Courts of Adjudication at such a number of places within his district as he may deem necessary, of which courts (place and time of meeting) he shall cause due notice to be given in each parish of the district, and at the same time invite all persons who have made objections and who have been objected to. And, after hearing the statements that may be made by both parties, he shall *finally adjudicate* whether the voters' names be placed on the register or not.

"IX. That the returning officer shall then cause to be made out alphabetical lists of all the registered voters in all the parishes within his district; which lists, signed and attested by himself, shall be used at all the elections for the district. Such lists to be sold to the public at reasonably low prices.

"X. That the returning officer receive all nominations for the members of his district, as well as for the returning officer of his district, and shall give public notice of the same according to the provisions of this Act; he shall also receive from the Speaker of the House of Commons the orders for any new election, in case of the death or resignation of the member of the district, as well as the orders to superintend and conduct the election of any other district, in case of the death or resignation of the returning officer of such district.

"XI. That the returning officer shall also receive the returns from all the parishes within his district, on the day of election; and on the day following the election he shall proclaim the state of the ballot, as directed by this Act.

and perform the several duties appertaining to his office, as herein made and provided.

"XII. That the returning officer be paid for fulfilling the duties of his office, the sum of per annum, as hereinafter mentioned.

"XIII. That, upon a petition being presented to the House of Commons by at least one hundred qualified electors of the district, against any returning officer of the same, complaining of corruption in the exercise of his office, or of incapacity, such complaints shall be inquired into by a committee of the House, consisting of seven members; and, on their report being read, the members present shall then determine whether such returning officer be or be not guilty, or he be or not be incapacitated.

"XIV. That, for conducting the first elections after the passing of this Act, a returning officer for each district be temporarily appointed by the Secretary of State, to perform the duties prescribed by this Act. He shall resign his office as soon as the new one is appointed, and be paid as hereinafter mentioned. *See Penalties.*

"Deputy Returning Officer, and his Duties.

"I. Be it enacted, that a deputy returning officer be appointed by the district returning officer to preside at each balloting place on the day of election, such deputy to be subject and responsible to his authority, as well as to the provisions of this Act.

"II. That it be the duty of the deputy returning officer to provide a number of competent persons, not exceeding , to aid him in taking the ballot, and for performing the necessary business thereof.

"III. That the deputy returning officer shall see that proper registration lists are provided, and that the ballot begin at six o'clock in the morning precisely, and end at six o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

"IV. That the deputy returning officer, in the presence of the agents of the candidates, examine and seal the balloting-boxes previously to the commencement of the balloting; he shall in like manner declare the number of

votes for each candidate, and shall cause a copy of the same, signed by himself, to be forwarded to the returning officer of the district, and another copy to the registration clerk of the parish.

"V. That the deputy returning officer be paid for his services as hereinafter mentioned. *See Penalties.*

"THE REGISTRATION CLERK, HIS DUTIES.

"I. Be it enacted, that a Registration Clerk be appointed by the district returning officer for every parish within his district containing inhabitants; or for every two or more parishes that may be united for the purposes of this Act; such clerk to be responsible to his authority, as well as to the provisions of this Act.

"II. That for the purpose of obtaining a correct registration of all the voters in each electoral district, the registration clerk of every parish as aforesaid throughout the kingdom shall, on or before the 1st of February in each year, take or cause to be taken round to every dwelling-house, poor-house, or union-workhouse, in his parish, a printed notice of the following form:—

"*Mr. John Jones, you are hereby required, within six days from the date hereof, to fill up this list with the names of all male inhabitants of your house, of* 21 *years of age and upwards; stating their respective ages, and the time they have resided with you; or, in neglect thereof, to forfeit the sum of one pound for every name omitted.*

"A. B., *Registration Clerk.*

Name	Address	Age	Time of Residence
John Jones	6, Upper North Place	21 years	3 months

"N.B.—This list will be called for at the expiration of six days from this date.

"III. That, at the expiration of six days, as aforesaid, the registration clerk shall collect, or cause to be collected, the aforesaid lists, and shall cause to be made out from them an alphabetical list of all persons who are of the proper age and residence to qualify them as voters, according to the provisions of this Act.

"IV. That if the registration clerk shall have any just reason to believe that the names, ages, or time or residence of any person inserted in the aforesaid list are falsely entered, or not in accordance with the provisions of this Act, he shall not refuse to insert them in his list of voters, but he shall write the words 'objected to' opposite such names; and so in like manner against the names of every person he may have just reason to consider ineligible, according to the provisions of this Act.

"V. That on or before the 8th of March in each year, the registration clerk shall cause the aforesaid alphabetical list of voters to be stuck against all church and chapel doors, market-houses, town-halls, session-houses, poor-houses, union-workhouses, and such other conspicuous places as he may deem necessary, from the 8th of March till the 22nd. He shall also cause a copy of such list to lie at his office, to be perused by any person without a fee, at all reasonable hours; and copies of the said list shall be sold to the public at a reasonably low price.

"VI. That, on or before the 25th of March, the registration clerk shall take, or cause to be taken, a copy of the aforesaid list of voters to the returning officer of his district, which list shall be signed by himself, and be presented as a just and impartial list, according to his judgment, of all persons within his parish who are eligible according to their claims, as well as of all those who have been objected to by himself or other persons.

"VII. That the registration clerk shall attend the Court of Adjudication, according to the notice he shall receive from the returning officer, to revise his list, and shall perform all the duties of his office as herein provided.

"VIII. That the registration clerk be paid for his services in the manner hereinafter mentioned.

"ARRANGEMENT FOR REGISTRATION.

"I. Be it enacted, that every householder, as well as every person occupying or having charge of a dwelling-house, poor-house, or union-workhouse, who shall receive a notice from the registration clerk as aforesaid, shall cause the said notice to be correctly filled up with the names, ages, and time of residence of every male inmate or inhabitant of his or her house, of twenty-one years of age and upwards, within six days of the day of the date of such notice, and shall carefully preserve the same till it is called for by the registration clerk, or his proper officer.

"II. That when the list of voters is made out from these notices, and stuck on the church doors and places aforesaid, any person who finds his name not inserted in the list, and who believes he is duly qualified as a voter, shall, on presenting to the registration clerk a notice in the following form, have his name added to the list of voters :

"*I, John Jones, carpenter, residing at ——— in the district of ——— being twenty-one years of age, and having resided at the above place during the last three months, require to be placed on the list of voters as a qualified elector for the said district.*

"III. That any person who is qualified as a voter to any electoral district, and shall have removed to any other parish *within the said district*, on presenting to the registration clerk of the parish he then resides in, his voter's certificate as proof of this, or the written testimony of any registration clerk who has previously registered him, he shall be entitled to be placed on the list of voters as aforesaid.

"IV. That if an elector of any parish in the district have any just grounds for believing that any person disqualified by this Act has been put upon any parish register within the said district, he may, at any reasonable hour, between the 1st and the 20th day of March, cause the following notices to be delivered, the one at the residence of the

registration clerk, and the other at the residence of the person objected to ; and the registration clerk shall, in like manner, send notice of the grounds of objection to all persons he may object to, as aforesaid :—

" To the Registration Clerk.

" *I, William Smith, elector of the parish of* ——— *in the district of* ——— *object to A. B. being on the register of voters, believing him to be disqualified.*

" To the person objected to.

" *Mr. A. B. of* ——— *I, William Smith, elector of the parish of* ——— *in the district of* ——— *object to your name being on the register of voters for the following reasons :*—(here state the reasons) *and I will support my objections by proofs before the Returning Officer of the District.*

" Dated this day, etc.

" V. That if the person thus objecting neglect to attend the court of the returning officer at the proper time, to state his objections, he shall be fined ten shillings for every such neglect, the same to be levied on his goods and chattels, provided he is not prevented from attending by sickness or accident ; in which case his medical certificate, or a certificate signed by ten voters certifying such fact, shall be forwarded to the returning officer, who shall then determine whether the claim to be put on the register be allowed or not.

" VI. That if the person objected to fails to attend the court of the returning officer at the proper time, to substantiate his claim, his name shall be erased from the register, provided he is not prevented by sickness or accident ; in which case a certificate shall be forwarded, and the returning officer shall determine as before directed.

" VII. That if it should be proved before the returning officer, in his open Court of Adjudication, that any person has frivolously or vexatiously objected to anyone being placed on the list of voters, such person objecting

shall be fined twenty shillings and expenses, the same to be levied on his goods and chattels, and paid to the person objected to.

"VIII. That, as early as possible after the lists are revised as aforesaid, the returning officer shall cause a copy of the same to be forwarded to every registration clerk within his district.

"IX. That the registration clerk of every parish shall then correctly copy from such lists the name, age, and residence of every qualified elector within his parish or parishes, into a book made for that purpose, and shall place a number opposite each name. He shall then within —— days, take, or cause to be taken, to all such electors, a *voter's certificate* of the following form, the number on which shall correspond with the number in the aforesaid book:—

"*No* 123. *This is to certify that James Jones, of —— is eligible to vote for one person to be returned to Parliament (as well as for the Returning Officer) for the district of —— for one year from the date hereof.* "Dated.

"Registration Clerk.

"X. That if any person lose his voter's certificate by fire, or any other accident, he shall not have a new certificate till the next registration; but on the day of any election, if he can establish his identity on the testimony of two witnesses, to the satisfaction of the registration clerk, as being the qualified voter described in the registration book, he shall be allowed to vote.

"XI. That the returning officer is hereby authorized and commanded to attach any small parishes within his district for the purposes of this Act, and not otherwise; and in like manner to unite all extra-parochial places to some adjacent parish. *See Penalties.*

"Arrangement for Nominations.

"I. Be it enacted, that for the purpose of guarding against too great a number, who might otherwise be heed-

lessly proposed, as well as for giving time for the electors to inquire into the merits of the persons who may be nominated for Members of Parliament, as well as for Returning Officers, that all nominations be taken as hereinafter directed.

"II. That for all general elections of Members of Parliament a requisition of the following form, signed by at least one hundred qualified electors of the district, be delivered to the returning officer of the district between the first and tenth day of May in each year; and that such requisition constitute the nomination of such persons as a candidate for the district:—

"*We, the undersigned electors of the district of ——— recommend A. B. of —— as a fit and proper person to represent the people of this district in the Commons House of Parliament, the said A. B. being qualified to be an elector according to the provisions of this Act.*

"Dated, etc.

"Signed.

"III. That the returning officer of every electoral district shall, on or before the 13th of May in each year, cause a list of all the candidates thus nominated to be stuck up against all church and chapel doors, market-houses, town-halls, session-houses, poor-houses, and union-workhouses, and such other conspicuous places within the district as he may deem necessary.

"IV. That, whenever a vacancy is occasioned in any district by the death, resignation, or other cause, of the Member of Parliament, the returning officer of that district shall, within three days after his orders from the Speaker of the House of Commons, give notice thereof in all the parishes of his district in the manner described for giving notices, and he shall at the same time request all nominations to be made as aforesaid, within ten days from the receipt of his order, and shall also appoint the day of election within eighteen days from the receipt of such order from the Speaker of the House of Commons.

"V. That if, from any circumstances, no person has been nominated as a candidate for the district on or before the 10th of May, persons may then be nominated in the manner described as aforesaid at any time previous to the 20th of May, but not after that date.

"VI. That, at the first election after the passing of this Act, and at the expiration of every year, the nomination of candidates for the Returning Officer be made in the same manner as for Members of Parliament, and nominations for vacancies that may occur in like manner.

"VII. That if two or more persons are nominated as aforesaid for members to serve in Parliament for the district, the returning officer shall, at any time, between the 15th and 31st of May (Sundays excepted) appoint such times and places (not exceeding), as he shall think most convenient to the electors of the district for the candidates to appear before them, then and there to explain their views and solicit the suffrages of the electors.

"VIII. That the returning officer see that the places above described be convenient for the purpose, and that as many such erections be put up as may be necessary; the same to be paid for by the returning officer, and charged in his account as hereinafter mentioned.

"IX. That, for the purpose of keeping good order and public decorum, the returning officer either take the chair at such meetings himself, or appoint a deputy for that purpose.

"X. That, provided only one candidate be proposed for Member of Parliament for the district by the time herein before mentioned, the returning officer do cause notice to be given, as hereinafter mentioned, that such a candidate is elected a member for the district; and if only one candidate be proposed for the Returning Officer, he shall in like manner be declared duly elected.

"XI. That no other qualification shall be required than the choice of the electors, according to the provisions of this Act; providing that no persons, excepting the cabinet ministers, be eligible to serve in the Commons House of Parliament who are in the receipt of any emolu-

ment derivable from any place or places held under Government, or of retired allowances arising therefrom.

"ARRANGEMENT FOR ELECTIONS.

"I. Be it enacted, that a general election of Members of Parliament, for the electoral districts of the United Kingdom, do take place on the first Monday in June in each year; and that all vacancies, by death or otherwise, shall be filled up as nearly as possible within eighteen days after they occur.

"II. That a general election of Returning Officers for all the districts take place at the expiration of every three years on the first Monday in June, and at the same time. Members of Parliament are to be elected; and that all vacancies be filled up within eighteen days after they occur.

"III. That every person who has been registered as aforesaid, and who has a voter's certificate, shall have the right of voting in the district in which he has been registered, and in that only; and of voting for the Member of Parliament for that district, and the Returning Officer for the district, and for those only.

"IV. That, for the purpose of taking the votes of the qualified electors, the parish officer in every parish of the district (or in every two or more parishes if united for the purposes of this Act) shall cause proper places to be provided, so as to admit of the arrangements described in Schedule A, and so constructed (either permanently or temporarily as they may think proper) that the votes may be taken with due despatch, and so as to secure the elector while voting from being inspected by any other person.

"V. That the parish officers of every parish in the district provide a sufficient number of balloting-boxes, made after a model described in Schedule B (or made on one plan by persons appointed to make them, as was the case with weights and measures), and none but such boxes, duly certified, shall be used.

"VI. That, immediately preceding the commencement of the balloting, each ballot-box shall be opened by the deputy returning officer (or otherwise examined as the

case may be), in the presence of an agent appointed by each candidate, and shall then be sealed by him and by the agents of the candidates, and not again be opened until the balloting has finally closed, when notice shall be given to such of the agents of the candidates as may then be present, to attend to the opening of the boxes and ascertaining the number of votes for each candidate.

"VII. That the deputy returning officer preside in the front of the ballot-box, and see that the balloting is conducted with strict impartiality and justice; and that the various clerks, assistants, and parish constables properly perform their respective duties, and that strict order and decorum be preserved among the friends of the candidates, as well as among all persons employed in conducting the election; and he is hereby authorized and empowered to cause all persons to be taken into custody who interrupt the proceedings of the election, seek to contravene the provisions of this Act, or fail to obey his lawful authority.

"VIII. That during the time the balloting is going on, two agents of each candidate may be in the space fronting the ballot-box, and immediately behind the deputy returning officer, in order that they may see that the election is fairly conducted; such persons to be provided by the deputy returning officer with cards of admission, and to pass in and out by the entrance assigned them.

"IX. That the registration clerk of every parish in the district, who has been appointed for the purposes of registration, be at the balloting place, in the station assigned him, previously to the commencement of the balloting, and see that no person pass on to the balloting place till he has examined his certificate, and seen that it corresponds with the registration list.

"X. That the parish constables and the officers stationed at the entrance of the balloting place, shall not permit any person to enter unless he shows his voter's certificate, except the persons employed in conducting the

election, or those persons who have proved the loss of their voter's certificate.

"XI. That at the end of every year, or whenever the Returning Officer is elected at the same time as the Member for the district, a division shall be made in the balloting places, and the boxes and balloting so arranged as to ensure the candidates the strictest impartiality and justice, by preventing the voter from giving two votes for either of the candidates.

"XII. That on the day of election, the balloting commence at six o'clock in the forenoon and terminate at six o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

"XIII. That when any voter's certificate is examined by the registration clerk, and found to be correct, he shall be allowed to pass on to the next barrier, where a balloting-ball shall be given him by the person appointed for that purpose; he shall then pass on to the balloting-box, and, with all due dispatch, shall put the balloting-ball into the box of the candidate he wishes to vote for, after which he shall, without delay, leave the room by the door assigned for the purpose. *See Schedules A and B.*

"XIV. That, at the close of the balloting, the deputy returning officer, in the presence of the agents of the candidates and other persons present, shall break open the seals of the balloting-boxes, and ascertain the number for each candidate; he shall then cause copies of the same to be publicly posted outside the balloting place; and immediately forward (by a trusty messenger) a copy of the same, signed by himself and the agents present, to the returning officer of the district; he shall then deliver a similar copy to the registration clerk, who shall carefully preserve the same, and produce it if necessary.

"XV. That the persons employed as assistants, for inspecting the certificates and attending to the balloting, be paid as hereinafter mentioned.

"XVI. That all the expense of registration, nominations and election, as aforesaid, together with the salaries of the Returning Officers, Registration Clerk, Assistants, Constables, and such other persons as may be necessary, as

well as the expense of all balloting places, balloting-boxes, hustings, and other necessaries for the purposes of this Act, be paid out of an *equitable district rate*, which a District Board, composed of one Parochial Officer chosen by each of the parishes in the district, or for any two or more parishes if united for the purposes of this Act, are hereby empowered and commanded to levy on all householders within the district.

"XVII. That all expenses necessary for the purposes of this Act incurred within the district be paid by the district board as aforesaid, or their treasurer; that the salaries of all officers and assistants required for the purposes of this Act be fixed and paid by the said board, according to the expenses and duties of the various localities.

"XVIII. That all acounts of receipts and expenditure for electoral purposes shall be kept distinct, and be audited by auditors appointed by the district board, as aforesaid; copies of which accounts shall be printed for the use of the respective parishes in the district.

"XIX. That all canvassing for Members of Parliament, as well as for Returning Officers, is hereby declared to be illegal, and meetings for that purpose during the balloting on the day of election, are hereby also declared to be illegal. *See Penalties.*

"DURATION OF PARLIAMENT.

"I. Be it enacted, that the Members of the House of Commons, chosen as aforesaid, shall meet on the first Monday in June in each year, and continue their sittings from time to time as they may deem it convenient, till the first Monday in June following, when the next new Parliament shall be chosen; they shall be eligible to be re-elected.

"II. That, during an adjournment, they be liable to be called together by the executive in cases of emergency.

"III. That a register be kept of the daily attendance of each member, which, at the close of the session, shall be printed as a sessional paper, showing how the members have attended.

"PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.

"I. Be it enacted, that every Member of the House of Commons be entitled, at the close of the session, to a writ of expenses on the Treasury, for his legislative duties in the public service, and shall be paid per annum.*

PENALTIES.

"I. Be it enacted, that if any person cause himself to be registered in more than one electoral district, and vote in more than one such district, upon conviction thereof before any two justices of the peace within either of such districts, he shall incur for the first offence the penalty of three months' imprisonment, and for the second offence twelve months' imprisonment.

"II. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid of wilfully neglecting to fill up his or her notice within the proper time, or of leaving out the name of any inmate in his or her notice, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of one pound for every name omitted; and for the second offence incur the penalty of three months' imprisonment, and be deprived of his electoral rights for three years.

"III. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid of forging any name, age, or time of residence on any notice, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of three months' imprisonment, and for the second offence three months' imprisonment, and be deprived of his elective rights for three years.

"IV. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid, of having in any manner obtained the certificate of an elector other than his own, and of having voted or attempted to vote by means of such false certificate, shall

* The Committee understand that the *daily payment* of Members of Parliament has operated beneficially in Canada; but they fear that such mode of payment holds out a motive for lengthening the sessions unnecessarily: and if the time of sitting is limited by law, it may lead to too hasty legislation, both of which evils are obviated by an annual payment.

for the first offence incur the penalty of three months' imprisonment, and for the second offence three months' imprisonment, and be deprived of his elective rights for three years.

" V. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid, of having forged a voter's certificate, or of having forged the name of any person to any certificate ; or having voted or attempted to vote on such forged certificate ; knowing such to have been forged, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of three months' imprisonment, and for the second offence three months' imprisonment, and be deprived of his elective rights for three years.

" VI. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid, of having forged, or caused to be forged, the names of any voters to a requisition nominating a Member of Parliament or a Returning Officer, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of three months' imprisonment, and for the second offence three months' imprisonment, and be deprived of his elective rights for three years.

" VII. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid of bribery, in order to secure his election, shall be subject for the first offence to incur the penalty of two years' imprisonment, and for the second offence shall be imprisoned two years, and be deprived of his elective rights for five years.

" VIII. That any Agent of any Candidate, or any other person, who shall be convicted as aforesaid, of bribery at any election, shall be subject for the first offence to incur the penalty of twelve months' imprisonment, and for the second offence twelve months' imprisonment, and be deprived of his elective rights for five years.

" IX. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid, of going from house to house, or place to place, to solicit in any way votes in favour of any candidate for Parliament or Returning Officer, after the nomination as aforesaid, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of one months' imprisonment, and for the second offence two months.

" X. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid

of calling together, or causing an election meeting to be held in any district during the day of election, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of three months' imprisonment, and for the second offence six months.

"XI. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid, of interrupting the balloting, or the business of the election, shall incur the penalty of three months' imprisonment for the first offence, and six months for the second.

"XII. That if any messenger, who may be sent with the state of the ballot to the returning officer, or with any other notice, shall wilfully delay the same, or in any way by his consent or conduct cause the same to be delayed, on conviction as aforesaid, shall incur the penalty of six months' imprisonment.

"XIII. That any Returning Officer who shall be convicted as aforesaid, of having neglected to appoint proper officers as directed by this Act, to see that proper balloting places and balloting-boxes are provided, and to give the notices and perform the duties herein required of him, shall forfeit for each case of neglect the sum of £20.

"XIV. That if any Returning Officer be found guilty of bribery or corrupt practices in the execution of the duties herein assigned to him, he shall incur the penalty of twelve months' imprisonment, and be deprived of his elective rights for five years.

"XV. That if any Deputy Returning Officer be convicted as aforesaid of having neglected to perform any of the duties herein assigned him, he shall forfeit for such neglect three pounds.

"XVI. That if any Deputy Returning Officer be convicted as aforesaid of bribery and corrupt practices in the execution of the duties of his office, he shall incur the penalty of six months' imprisonment, and the deprivation of his elective rights for three years.

"XVII. That if any Registration Clerk be convicted as aforesaid of having neglected to perform any of the duties herein assigned him, he shall forfeit for each such neglect five pounds.

"XVIII. That if any registration Clerk be convicted

as aforesaid of bribery and corrupt practices in the execution of the duties of his office, he shall incur the penalty of six months' imprisonment, and the deprivation of his elective rights for three years.

"XIX. That if the Parochial Officers in any parish neglect or refuse to comply with any of the provisions of this Act, they shall forfeit for every such neglect the sum of £50, or in default of payment, twelve months' imprisonment.

"XX. That all fines and penalties incurred under the provisions of this Act be recoverable before any two justices of the peace, within the district where the offence shall have been committed, and in default of payment, the said justices shall issue their warrant of distress against the goods and chattels of the offender; or in default of sufficient distress, he shall be imprisoned according to the provisions of this Act.

"That all Acts and parts of Acts relating to registration, nominations, or elections of Members of Parliament, as well as the duration of Parliament and sittings of members, are hereby repealed."

APPENDIX C.

"NATIONAL PETITION

"*Unto the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, the Petition of the undersigned, their suffering countrymen.*

"HUMBLY SHEWETH,

"That we, your petitioners, dwell in a land whose merchants are noted for enterprise, whose manufacturers are very skilful, and whose workmen are proverbial for their industry.

"The land itself is goodly, the soil rich, and the temperature wholesome; it is abundantly furnished with the materials of commerce and trade; it has numerous and convenient harbours; in facility of internal communication it exceeds all others.

"For three-and-twenty years we have enjoyed a profound peace.

"Yet, with all these elements of national prosperity, and with every disposition and capacity to take advantage of them, we find ourselves overwhelmed with public and private suffering.

"We are bowed down under a load of taxes; which, notwithstanding, fall greatly short of the wants of our rulers; our traders are trembling on the verge of bankruptcy; our workmen are starving; capital brings no profit, and labour no remuneration; the home of the artificer is desolate, and the warehouse of the pawnbroker is full; the workhouse is crowded, and the manufactory is deserted.

"We have looked on every side, we have searched dili-

gently in order to find out the causes of a distress so sore and so long continued.

" We can discover none in nature, or in Providence.

" Heaven has dealt graciously by the people ; but the foolishness of our rulers has made the goodness of God of none effect.

" The energies of a mighty kingdom have been wasted in building up the power of selfish and ignorant men, and its resources squandered for their aggrandisement.

" The good of a party has been advanced to the sacrifice of the good of the nation ; the few have governed for the interest of the few, while the interest of the many has been neglected, or insolently and tyrannously trampled upon.

" It was the fond expectation of the people that a remedy for the greater part, if not for the whole, of their grievances, would be found in the Reform Act of 1832.

" They were taught to regard that Act as a wise means to a worthy end ; as the machinery of an improved legislation, when the will of the masses would be at length potential.

" They have been bitterly and basely deceived.

" The fruit which looked so fair to the eye has turned to dust and ashes when gathered.

" The Reform Act has effected a transfer of power from one domineering faction to another, and left the people as helpless as before.

" Our slavery has been exchanged for an apprenticeship to liberty, which has aggravated the painful feeling of our social degradation, by adding to it the sickening of still deferred hope.

" We come before your Honourable House to tell you, with all humility, that this state of things must not be permitted to continue ; that it cannot long continue without very seriously endangering the stability of the throne and the peace of the kingdom ; and that if by God's help and all lawful and constitutional appliances, an end can be put to it, we are fully resolved that it shall speedily come to an end.

"We tell your Honourable House that the capital of the master must no longer be deprived of its due reward; that the laws which make food dear, and those which by making money scarce, make labour cheap, must be abolished; that taxation must be made to fall on property, not on industry; that the good of the many, as it is the only legitimate end, so must it be the sole study of the Government.

"As a preliminary essential to these and other requisite changes; as means by which alone the interests of the people can be effectually vindicated and secured, we demand that those interests be confided to the keeping of the people.

"When the State calls for defenders, when it calls for money, no consideration of poverty or ignorance can be pleaded in refusal or delay of the call.

"Required as we are, universally, to support and obey the laws, nature and reason entitle us to demand, that in the making of the laws, the universal voice shall be implicitly listened to.

"We perform the duties of freemen; we must have the privileges of freemen.

"We demand Universal Suffrage.

"The suffrage to be exempt from the corruption of the wealthy, and the violence of the powerful, must be secret.

"The assertion of our right necessarily involves the power of its uncontrolled exercise.

'We demand the Ballot.

"The connection between the representatives and the people, to be beneficial must be intimate.

"The legislative and constituent powers, for correction and for instruction, ought to be brought into frequent contact.

"Errors, which are comparatively light when susceptible of a speedy popular remedy, may produce the most disastrous effects when permitted to grow inveterate through years of compulsory endurance.

"To public safety as well as public confidence, frequent elections are essential.

"We demand Annual Parliaments.

"With power to choose, and freedom in choosing, the range of our choice must be unrestricted.

"We are compelled, by the existing laws, to take for our representatives, men who are incapable of appreciating our difficulties, or who have little sympathy with them; merchants who have retired from trade, and no longer feel its harassings; proprietors of land who are alike ignorant of its evils and their cure; lawyers, by whom the honours of the senate are sought after only as means of obtaining notice in the courts.

"The labours of a representative, who is sedulous in the discharge of his duty, are numerous and burdensome.

"It is neither just, nor reasonable, nor safe, that they should continue to be gratuitously rendered.

"We demand that in the future election of members of your Honourable House, the approbation of the constituency shall be the sole qualification; and that to every representative so chosen shall be assigned, out of the public taxes, a fair and adequate remuneration for the time which he is called upon to devote to the public service.

"Finally, we would most earnestly impress on your Honourable House, that this petition has not been dictated by any idle love of change; that it springs out of no inconsiderate attachment to fanciful theories; but that it is the result of much and long deliberation, and of convictions, which the events of each succeeding year tend more and more to strengthen.

"The management of this mighty kingdom has hitherto been a subject for contending factions to try their selfish experiments upon.

"We have felt the consequences in our sorrowful experience—short glimmerings of uncertain enjoyment swallowed up by long and dark seasons of suffering.

"If the self-government of the people should not remove their distresses, it will at least remove their repinings,

"Universal suffrage will, and it alone can, bring true and lasting peace to the nation; we firmly believe that it will also bring prosperity.

"May it therefore please your Honourable House to take this our petition into your most serious consideration; and to use your utmost endeavours, by all constitutional means, to have a law passed, granting to every male of lawful age, sane mind, and unconvicted of crime, the right of voting for members of Parliament; and directing all future elections of members of Parliament to be in the way of secret ballot; and ordaining that the duration of Parliaments so chosen shall in no case exceed one year; and abolishing all property qualifications in the members; and providing for their due remuneration while in attendance on their Parliamentary duties.

"And your petitioners, etc."

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